REPRESENTING CLASSICAL MUSIC TO CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES: CRITICAL HISTORIES AND NEW APPROACHES

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ABSTRACT

Sarah Elizabeth Tomlinson: Representing Classical Music to Children and Young People in the United States: Critical Histories and New Approaches
(Under the direction of Chérie Rivers Ndaliko)

In this dissertation, I analyze the history and current practice of classical music programming for youth audiences in the United States. My examination of influential historical programs, including NBC radio's 1928–42 *Music Appreciation Hour* and CBS television's 1958–72 *Young People's Concerts*, as well as contemporary materials including children's visual media and North Carolina Symphony Education Concerts from 2017–19, show how dominant representations of classical music curated for children systemically erase women and composers-of-color's contributions and/or do not contextualize their marginalization. I also intervene in how classical music is represented to children and young people. From 2017 to 2019, I conducted participatory research at the Global Scholars Academy (GSA), a K-8 public charter school in Durham, NC, to generate new curricula and materials fostering critical engagement with classical music and music history. Stemming from the participatory research principle of situating community collaborators as co-producers of knowledge, conducting participatory research with children urged me to prioritize children's perspectives throughout this project. As such, I have examined archival documents written by young people, interviewed young people, and adjusted curricula around GSA students' concerns.

I have also sought to analyze disciplinary divisions and suggest more interdisciplinary collaboration between musicology and music education. The critical tools for making children's

introductions to classical music more diverse and critically engaged exist, as shown by established scholarship in these two disciplines. However, musicologists and music education scholars have responded to their frustrations about the Eurocentricity, assumed whiteness, and masculinist values of the classical music canon in contrasting ways. Moreover, community-based projects and resources seeking to address canonic biases have yet to make large impacts on the common practice of how children are first introduced to classical music or be documented in scholarship.

I argue that, by asking children and young people how representations of classical music are meaningful to them and by urging interdisciplinary collaboration between musicology and music education and, scholars can reimagine, revise, and represent classical music as inclusive and critically engaged. I evidence this argument through criticism of past and present programs as well as participating in the creation of new approaches.

For Rita M. Tomlinson

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABRSM	Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music
CBS	Columbia Broadcasting System
FMA	Folk Music of America
GSA	Global Scholars Academy
LOC	Library of Congress
MAH	Music Appreciation Hour
NBC	National Broadcasting Company
NYPL	New York Public Library
NCS	North Carolina Symphony
TSO	Toronto Symphony Orchestra
UNC	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
YPCs	Young People's Concerts YPCs exclusively refers to the New York Philharmonic's televised Young People's Concerts that Leonard Bernstein conducted from 1958–72. Several other orchestras have concert series titled Young People's Concerts, but this abbreviation does not reference those.

INTRODUCTION

Cécile Chaminade's "Concertino for Flute and Piano, Opus 107" was my favorite piece of music as a young flute player. From the moment my high school flute teacher told me I was ready to learn the piece, I practiced it tirelessly. When the time came for college auditions, this canonic piece was an obvious choice. At one audition, the judge paused to ask me about the composer. "What do you know about Chaminade?" he asked. I was caught off-guard, and I flipped to the front page where I knew the composer's birth and death dates were listed. As I turned the page, I responded, "Well, he was born in 1857." The judge, who was a flute professor, laughed snidely at me, "He? You should know that Cécile Chaminade is a woman." I recoiled in shame, frustrated that I had worked so hard to prepare my performance only to appear foolish in front of this man of authority.

It was not until a few years later when I was a college student reading feminist musicology literature that I began to understand the nuances of this disconcerting conversation about the Chaminade Concertino. My frustration was two-pronged. I was angry at the professor for shaming a me as a young woman about gendered identity politics; and I was angry that in my upbringing engrossed in classical music culture and performance, I did not question gendered assumptions about composers. With time I realized there was a third source to my anger, namely that I was shamed for my lack of knowledge within a culture that taught me that women do not compose and I internalized the shame within a society that has taught me that women, especially young women, do not talk back to male authority figures.

These frustrations set me wondering. How would my experiences in classical music culture have been different if I had learned that Cécile Chaminade, the composer of my favorite piece of music, was a woman through an experience of empowerment rather than one of shame? What would have been different if I had not learned about her at all? Perhaps nothing would have changed, after all I still came to identify as a feminist music historian and learned to reconceptualize this experience. But I also question why my earliest experiences learning about classical music were not more critically engaged, and why my identification with feminist views had to involve reinterpretation of earlier experiences. Would it have been possible to make my initial interpretations from a feminist perspective?

This experience brings out broader questions of how classical music is represented to children and young people: Who codifies knowledge? Who has access to knowledge? And what are the channels of access to knowledge? Indeed, at the time of my audition in 2009, two decades of feminist scholarship had been making major shifts within the discipline of musicology, the primary discipline that determines the accepted canon of classical music composers. In fact, several critical publications affirming women composers' contributions and taking feminist approaches to the canon were published before and throughout the time of my childhood.[1] Why then, did I assume that a composer was implicitly "he" when there was scholarship disproving and dismantling this assumption? It is, at least in part, because I, like most young people I knew,

[1] Barbara Garvey Jackson, "Florence Price, Composer," *The Black Perspective in Music* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1977): 30-43; Catherine Clement, *Opera, or, The Undoing of Women*, trans. Betsy Wing, foreword Susan McClary (Minneapolis: Univeristy of Minnesota Press, 1988); Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991); Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Judith Tick, *Ruth Crawford Seeger: A Composer's Search for American Music* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Tammy L. Kernodle, *Soul on Soul: The Life and Music of Mary Lou Williams* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004). Monica Steegman, *Clara Schumann* (London: Haus Publishing, 2004).

was not reading musicological scholarship when I was seventeen. My point is, just because knowledge exists does not mean that those who might benefit from it have access to it.

I have learned through time and research that my experience is far from unique. Indeed, many others have likewise reflected on how they reconceptualized experiences of shame amidst their upbringings within classical music culture. For example, pianist, singer-songwriter, and civil rights activist Nina Simone writes in her autobiography of her mother's ambition that she "become the first black American concert pianist."[2] Simone aspired to pursue a career as a classical pianist after attending the Curtis Institute of Music in Philadelphia. But when she was denied admission to the Curtis Institute in 1950, Simone took a break from performing and considered abandoning such aspirations.[3] She reflected in 1991 that, "It had never occurred to me to wonder how many black students there were studying at the Curtis Institute: It was a question I should have asked."[4] While she later came to understand her rejection as an act of racial discrimination, she internalized shame long before she was able to reconceptualize the experience.[5] What would it have meant for her to contextualize her rejection within the history of the systemic racism of US classical music institutions?[6]

Another example demonstrating the ramifications of early encounters with classical music comes in historical musicologist Roe-Min Kok's 2006 essay on the colonialist

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[2] Nina Simone and Stephen Cleary, *I Put a Spell on You: The Autobiography of Nina Simone* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2003), 32.

[3] Ibid., 45.

[4] Simone and Cleary, *I Put a Spell on You*, 42.

[5] Ibid., 42-3.

[6] Julia Eklund Koza, "Listening for Whiteness: Hearing Racial Politics in Undergraduate School Music," *Philosophy of Music Education Review* 16, no. 2 (2008): 145-55; Loren Kajikawa, "The Possessive Investment in Classical Music: Confronting Legacies of White Supremacy in U.S. Schools and Departments of Music," in *Seeing Race Again: Countering Colorblindness Across the Disciplines*, ed. Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2019), 155-74.

implications of her upbringing in Malaysia under the British-run Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM).

> My early music education under the ABRSM system left lingering effects on my outlook on and approach to Western classical music up until my years of graduate study in the United States of America, where I immersed myself in critical approaches to knowledge. Before then I did not have the words to describe, or perhaps was not even fully aware of, the subaltern deep within. During my undergraduate studies, my American teachers wondered at my timidity in expressing myself musically and intellectually. I simply thought I was unworthy of judging and voicing my opinions about Western culture (how could I, when I didn't belong culturally?). I did not know what to think or say about music at all. I wanted only to imbibe all that Westerners were willing to teach me, a non-Westerner, and fell silent beside those who were bold, white-skinned, had grown up with abundant opportunities to listen to Western classical music, or who had traveled to Europe…I mistrusted my multicultural identity, irreconcilably hybridized and fragmented with relativistic planes of understanding and inferior, I thought, to what I saw at the "white" world's privileging of factory-like uniformity, linearity, and efficiency of feeling and thought. At every turn, my colonial-style music education functioned as a culture cue cum social reference point for the process I underwent: surprise and shock, followed by a growing awareness of its long-term effects on me, and finally a struggle to realign the parameters of my identity and understanding of "white people" and their music.[7]

Kok's words show both the revelation of reconceptualizing her earlier experiences as well as the frustration that "critical approaches to knowledge" were not available to her until graduate school. She also shows how, before she contextualized her "colonial-style music education," she internalized shame. Furthermore, as she did develop "a growing awareness of its long-term effects," it was "struggle" rather than a celebratory or empowering process. I realize the system of colonial education Kok references is a result of complex global dynamics. And yet, given the resources available through critical musicology, it is concerning that it still takes the majority of music students in the United States until graduate school to critically engage with the privileged and often exclusionary values of classical music.

[7] Roe-Min Kok, "Music for a Postcolonial Child: Theorizing Malaysian Memories," in *Musical Childhoods and the Cultures of Youth*, ed. Susan Boynton and Roe-Min Kok (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2006), 99.

While there are certainly marked differences between Kok's, Simone's, and my own experience, there are also common threads, most strikingly a memory of shame stemming from an uncritical acceptance of classical music's values during youth followed by the disavowal of these values and reckoning with this shame during adulthood. This pattern is one of the primary motivating factors behind this study. To investigate this dynamic I started with broad conceptual questions: What would a critical engagement with classical music from its earliest introductions to children look like? Could such engagement replace initial experiences of shame—based on gender, race, and cultural belonging—with experiences of affirmation, curiosity, and critique? To test these questions, I designed a project to demonstrate that, why, and how children's earliest introductions to classical music should foreground composers of marginalized identities and critically engage children with classical music's structures of systemic privilege and exclusion.

I also ask these questions in the context of music scholars' current efforts to revise university-level music curricula. Indeed, when I defended my dissertation proposal in the spring of 2017, university music departments across the United States unleashed a wave of measures to destabilize the privileged position of classical music curricular offerings for students seeking music degrees.[8] Departments changed course requirements to make it more possible for students studying "non-canonical musics," or, those without a traditional education in classical music performance, to earn music degrees. Considering that many musicologists today grew up immersed in classical music culture, education, and performance, such efforts also have the potential to disrupt the traditional pipeline into the discipline of musicology itself.

[8] Tamara Levitz writes in 2018 about how, "In spring 2017, the Department of Music at Harvard University symbolically led the charge" to US music departments' curricular changes. Tamara Levitz, "The Musicological Elite," *Current Musicology* 102 (Spring 2018): 9.

Efforts to decentralize classical music have also yielded strategies for representing classical music more critically. In his contribution to a 2017 roundtable issue of the *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* focusing on situating Ibero-American Music in the collegiate music history curriculum, Alejandro L. Madrid warned that incorporating non-canonical music into curricula must also come with "a critical approach to the canon." He continues by explaining, "notice that I am not calling for an eradication of the canon, I am calling for an approach that truly examines why the canon exists and what kinds of discourses have been and continue to be reproduced by its celebration of aesthetic virtue, exceptional individuals, eternal masterworks, and even, occasionally, 'good' taste.'"[9] Like Madrid, I take the stance that systemic curricular change must involve critical approaches to canon, not just a turn away from it.

Indeed, some musicologists have offered pragmatic solutions for taking critical approaches to the canon in university classrooms. Also in 2017, musicologists Kira Thurman and Kristen Turner published a blog post, "Six Easy Ways to Immediately Address Racial and Gender Diversity in Your Music History Classroom."[10] Thurman and Turner highlight how focusing on composers who have been historically marginalized in the canon of classical music not only shifts representation but also opens up discussion about the biases of historiography. They published this post on Musicology Now, a blog run by the American Musicology Society aimed at general readers and read primarily by musicologists. Shortly before, in 2016, Suzanne Cusick raised queries about *which* ancestors, as she says, music professors choose to focus on and "worship" in their classrooms. Cusick calls for professors to reimagine "which musical dead

[9] Alejandro L. Madrid, "Diversity, Tokenism, Non-Canonical Musics, and the Crisis of the Humanities in U.S. Academia," *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* 7 (2017): 126.

[10] Kira Thurman and Kristen Turner, ""Six Easy Ways to Immediately Address Racial and Gender Diversity in Your Music History Classroom," *Musicology Now*, July 17, 2017, http://musicologynow.ams-net.org/2017/07/six-easy-ways-to-immediately-address.html.

we attend to" and suggests that such reimagining can align with more diverse and equitable representations.[11]

These articles by Madrid, Thurman and Turner, and Cusick exemplify a broader movement to make meaningful changes to university-level coursework in efforts to impact the professional fields of musicology and music scholarship. However, it should not take until college for young people to begin taking critical approaches to the canon. Indeed, students show up to college auditions with preconceptions about what it means to study music at the collegiate level. Students steeped in classical music education expect classical music and its canonic composers to dominant their coursework.

Many other students who are not steeped in the classical music tradition may count themselves out of meaningful inclusion within university-level music education without ever stepping into a campus music building or searching the course catalogue. In a 2019 essay titled "The Possessive Investment in Classical Music: Confronting Legacies of White Supremacy in U.S. Schools and Departments of Music," Loren Kajikawa notes that "colorblindness (or colordeafness)" in diversifying music curricula has left the institutional structures that privilege the music of white European and American males in place.[12] Kajikawa includes three anecdotes to demonstrate the impact of such institutional structures, one of which exemplifies how students enter universities with expectations about what music departments do and do not offer:

> A young rap artist is a student at ——— College. She has been writing songs and recording in her bedroom studio since middle school. Although she is beginning to attract the attention of other artists and fans across the

[11] Suzanne Cusick, "Listening to the Dead: Toward 21st-Century Music Histories," *Music Docta* 6, no. 1 (December 2016): 56.

[12] Loren Kajikawa, "The Possessive Investment in Classical Music: Confronting Legacies of White Supremacy in U.S. Schools and Departments of Music," in *Seeing Race Again: Countering Colorblindness Across the Disciplines*, ed. Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2019), 156.

> country, she is majoring in journalism and doesn't see any reason to be involved with the music department.[13]

For this student and many others, it may not matter if the music department at their college is making sweeping curricular changes. Experiences from before college may have already primed them to believe that university-level music instruction centers on the ancestor worship of dead, white, European males who composed symphonies and operas. Given these factors, I argue that while there are substantial bodies of work that creatively address pedagogical approaches to teaching music history and classical music at the university-level, there is equal need for attention to K-12 music education and children's introductions to music.

To be sure, music educators focusing on K-12 curricula have been making robust criticisms against the dominance of classical music for decades. There includes a wealth of well-established criticisms against the privileging of white Eurocentric male greatness that, as music educators often point out, truly the majority of US children do not themselves embody.[14] As a result, music teachers who become frustrated with the canon respond largely by turning away from it, instead emphasizing and culturally contextualizing more global, popular, and vernacular music traditions.[15] Such a turn is crucially important in deemphasizing classical music's pedagogical centricity and calling its hegemony into question. Yet, to recall Madrid's point,

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[13] Kajikawa, "The Possessive Investment in Classical Music," 155.

[14] Ruth Iana Gustafson, *Race and Curriculum: Music in Childhood Education* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Patricia Shehan Campbell, *Teaching Music Globally: Experiencing Music, Expressing Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[15] Ruth Gurgel, "The Tanglewood Symposium: Popular Music Pedagogy from 1967 to Today," *Music Educators Journal* 105, Issue 3 (March 2019): 60-5; Bryan Powell, Gareth Dylan Smith, Chad West, and John Kratus, guest eds., "Popular Music Education: A Call to Action," *Music Educators Journal* 106, Issue 1 (September 2019): 21-4.

changing music curricula to embrace non-canonical musics must also pair with critical approaches to the Western classical canon.[16]

Indeed, turning away from classical music without also contextualizing it critically may further implicit assumptions that classical music is uniformly white, composed by men, and without global influences. Two interviews that I conducted with music teachers in 2018 and 2019 demonstrate how the implicit assumption of classical music's whiteness, in particular, can impact classroom lessons. One elementary-music teacher in North Carolina told me that, as her student population shifted from predominantly white students to predominantly Latinx students over her thirty-year career, she began presenting historical "musicians" instead of historical "composers."[17] To her, this move away from the composers of classical music allowed her to highlight more Latinx figures and famous musicians-of-color. Another elementary-music teacher in the same area told me that her curriculum for fourth grade focuses mostly on symphonic music, but that she breaks with this curriculum for Black History Month. When I asked if she saw potential for overlap between symphonic music and Black History Month, she replied that she did not.[18]

In both of these cases, acknowledging people- and communities-of-color's musical contributions involved turning away from the classical music tradition. But, like my opening admission that I had assumed a composer must be a "he" despite the existence of scholarship to

[16] In Chapter 4, I include a more nuanced and detailed examination of how music education scholars have critically responded to classical music's pedagogical dominance. I also acknowledge music education scholar Juliet Hess for making statements about the importance of critical engagement with classical music and its canon in K-12 settings. Berman quotes Hess in Andrew S. Berman, "Teaching Social Justice in the Music Classroom," National Association for Music Education, April 29, 2015, https://nafme.org/teaching-social-justice-in-the-music-classroom/.

[17] Linda, Interviewed by author, iPhone recording, Knightdale, NC, February 27, 2018.

[18] Jackie, interviewed by author, iPhone recording, Knightdale, NC, May 24, 2019.

the contrary, the implicit assumption of classical music's whiteness comes despite large bodies of scholarship documenting the contributions of people-of-color to classical music culture, including those in Latinx and Black communities.[19] Like my opening admission, these interviews make it clear that the common understanding of classical music often does not align with scholarly knowledge.

The critical tools for making children's introductions to classical music more diverse and critically engaged exist, as shown by established scholarship in musicology and music education, but they have yet to manifest in common practice. This is because, although musicologists and music educators have both leveled criticisms against the hegemony of the classical music canon, they have done so in contrasting ways. Musicologists have largely situated criticisms within classical music culture by uncovering histories of marginalized composers, calling for historiographic revisions, and seeking to impact university-level curricula. By contrast, music educators frustrated with the canon largely turn away from it, seeking to center and celebrate non-hegemonic music traditions. Neither of these responses have meant that classical music has disappeared from K-12 curricula and children's lives. Rather, it means that when classical music does appear on concerts for children and in K-12 music classrooms, it tends to center on canonic white male composers and lacks critical framing of these figures.

As such, there is a need to take interventions criticizing the canon of classical music to earlier stages of music learning. One promising avenue of intervention I identify in this study is more interdisciplinary collaboration between musicology and music education. Building bridges

[19] Helga Zambrano, "Reimagining the Poetic and Musical Translation of 'Sensemayá,'" *Ethnomusicology Review* 19 (2014), https://ethnomusicologyreview-ucla-edu.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/journal/volume/19/piece/800; Lucius R. Wyatt, "The Inclusion of Concert Music of African-American Composers in Music History Course," *Black Music Research Journal* 16, no. 2 (1996): 243; Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1971).

between these disciplines has much potential for closing the gaps between the existence of knowledge and the access to that knowledge. A second avenue I advocate is including children and young people as co-producers of knowledge and as core contributors to my research findings. After all, youth are too often spoken for rather than spoken with. Because they are intended audience of all the materials I study in this project, the insights of children and young people deserve as much if not more critical attention than the adults who create the materials.

Situating children as knowledge producers was not initially a motivation for this study, but its value became increasingly clear to me as my research progressed. Thus, in addition to studying archival documents written by young people, I began interviewing young people, and adjusting new approaches to classical music introductions based on young people's self-professed interests and concerns. In some cases, children's historic and contemporary contributions affirmed common assumptions about the importance of representational identity politics to children's own conceptions of selfhood. In other cases, the children from whom I learned complicated common assumptions or highlighted details that I had overlooked. For example, some children noticed details in educational materials that had not seemed meaningful to me initially, such as the use of color in photographs and portraits of composers, which children interpreted as indications of the value of different composers' identities. This is just one example of the value of seeking children's perspectives. Notably, there is a praxis of child-centered research in various disciplines.[20] My goal in this study is to make this praxis better-known and available to scholars within the discipline of musicology because it is clear to me that

[20] Pia Christensen and Allison James, eds., *Research With Children: Perspectives and Practices* (London: Falmer Press, 2000); See "Child-focused Research" in Allison James and Adrian James, *Key Concepts in Childhood Studies* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2008), 17-19.

children and young people have much to contribute to the disciplinary debates about the canon and music curricula across the pipeline.

In broad strokes, this dissertation addresses the need for critical approaches to children's introductions to classical music by pairing analytical critique with engagement and intervention.[21] In it, I analyze influential historical programs, including NBC radio's 1928–42 *Music Appreciation Hour* and CBS television's 1958–72 *Young People's Concerts*, as well as contemporary materials including children's books, music classroom materials, and 2017–19 North Carolina Symphony Education Concerts. My analysis demonstrates that the dominant representations of classical music for children erase women and composers-of-color's contributions and/or do not contextualize their systemic marginalization within classical music culture. Such a finding follows the trend among artistic and literary canons across humanistic disciplines in the West, which privilege dead, white, European men. Yet, as indicated above, it is conspicuously incongruous with decades of critical scholarship in the disciplines most related to this issue, namely musicology and music education.

To intervene in how classical music is represented to youth, I partnered with a K-8 public charter school in Durham, NC, the Global Scholars Academy, to conduct participatory research by developing innovative music curricula. Together with community members including teachers, administrators, and students, we sought to create curricula that would represent music history and classical music in new ways. As such, in addition to resulting in a written

[21] I undertook this research with IRB approval from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. My study, IRB #17-2487, allowed me to conduct interviews with young people under the age of eighteen with formal consent from parents, with their consent, and with assurances of anonymity. I do not reveal the identities of any of the young people I interviewed after NCS concerts or that I worked with at GSA. I also interviewed adults using IRB-approved consent forms. All of the teachers, who are adults, I interviewed in this study have remained anonymous. Jason Spencer, the NCS Director of Education starting in 2019, offered his formal consent for me to use his full name in my dissertation.

dissertation, this project also resulted in new curricular materials and resources for practicing music teachers.

Based on this multi-method research, my central argument is that by urging more interdisciplinary connection between musicology and music education and by asking children and young people how representations of classical music are meaningful to them, scholars can reimagine, revise, and represent classical music as inclusive and critically engaged. I present my own attempts to put this argument into practice as well as pose questions for broadening its impact in further studies. Can knowledge production within the academy shape dominant trends in common practice? Why it is difficult to transmit knowledge across disciplines, professions, and communities despite common interests? Ultimately, I situate my interventions into how classical music is represented to youth as a core component of my dissertation research. I do so to affirm that scholars must participate in the solutions they propose and work with the communities they seek to impact. I see participatory research collaborations as a critical way to meaningfully address and work against the institutional structures that continue to prioritize whiteness, Eurocentricity, and masculinity in music curricula across age and educational levels. Rather than side projects, these participatory collaborations are the research, are the scholarship, and are, at least in this dissertation, the most meaningful contribution.

Why Classical Music?

I focus on classical music because classical music is present in many children's lives in the United States and it will continue to be present in their lives. For the sake of clarity, I do not take a position on whether or not classical music is valuable for children. I also do not take a position on whether or not classical music should be more or less broadly accessible to children.

I put these points bluntly because, along the journey of designing and carrying out this project, I have encountered a common assumption that a project on classical music and children must be an advocacy project arguing for the value and importance of classical music and strategizing how to make classical music more accessible to children. I do not hold this common assumption, nor do I advocate for classical music.

I do, however, contend that classical music representations for children should be better than they currently are. It is my opinion that children's introductions to classical music should foreground more composers-of-color and women composers, should be created in collaboration with children themselves, and should contextualize—both culturally and critically—the privileged histories and historiography of its canon. To put it simply, I focus on classical music in children's lives because it is there and because I want its representations to be better.

I use the term "classical music" because of its colloquial meaning. By accepted understanding, classical music is a genre of music originating in Western Europe characterized by notated, harmonic, polyphonic musical scores orchestrated for specific instruments and voice types. Instruments are part of the traditional symphony orchestra of brass, strings, woodwinds, and percussion and voices follow the operatic tradition.[22] One meaningful caveat to my use of the phrase is its distinct meaning within Indian musical practice.[23] To avoid this confusion and to be more culturally specific, "Western art music" is favored within academic circles. Another reason for the favoritism for "Western art music" is because the "Classical Period" is a

[22] Julian Johnson, *Who Needs Classical Music? Cultural Choice and Musical Value* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 1; Lawrence Kramer, *Why Classical Music Still Matters* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 8th ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010), 895, 902-3; Mark Evan Bonds, *A History of Music in Western Culture*, 3rd ed. (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2010).

[23] G.N. Joshi, *Understanding Indian Classical Music* (Bombay: Taraporevala, 1977).

subcategory of the musical tradition referring to music composed between 1750 and 1800.[24] However, "classical music" is more useful to my study than "Western art music" because I am most concerned with the popular understanding—among parents, teachers, children, young people, and the administrators who manage schools and symphony orchestras—of what they call "classical music."

In my use of "classical music," I follow sociologist Anna Bull, who conducted ethnographic research with young people performing in classical music ensembles in the UK, and likewise chooses the vernacular "classical music" over the academic "Western art music." In her 2019 monograph, *Class, Control, and Classical Music*, Bull writes, "I use the vernacular term that my participants used: 'classical music'. For them, this term had a taken-for granted meaning that didn't require explanation. Indeed, mainstream, online and specialist media also use the term 'classical music', further confirming that there exists in public discourse a commonly understood phenomenon by this name."[25] Because my dissertation seeks to address the common practice of how classical music is represented to children and young people, I prioritize using its most "commonly understood" characterization.

I also follow Bull in referring to classical music as a "genre."[26] This generalized use of "genre" is in contrast to its more specific meaning within the detailed study of Western art music, where a symphony and an operatic aria can be defined as distinct genres. These distinctions are important within the discipline of musicology, and I recognize that in many other musicological studies, "genre" has a different meaning than that which I use here. My rationale

[24] Bonds, *A History of Music in Western Culture*, 289.

[25] Anna Bull, *Class, Control, and Classical Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), xvii.

[26] Bull interchanges classical music with "the genre" throughout her study. Ibid.

is the same as my rationale for choosing "classical music," in that outside of musicological circles, classical music's characterization as a genre aligns with popular understanding. For example, the US commercial music industry distinguishes classical music from other "genres," such as jazz, pop, R&B, and indie.[27] Sometimes I refer to classical music as a musical tradition, as when its roots in high-society Europe are relevant. Classical music culture is another useful phrase within my work, referring to a broader network of people, values, contributors, and shifting social meaning. For example, some of my findings show that not everyone who attends a classical music event, such as a child in the audience at symphony concert, comes to identify as part of classical music culture. In other cases, I examine how those who feel a sense of belonging within classical music culture articulate their tastes and values, such as teenagers expressing affection for symphony conductors or adults urging the need for all children to be exposed to classical music.

Centering on Children, Young People, and Youth

As indicated, this study focuses on children and young people. With "children," "youth" and "young people," I refer to an age range from infancy through school age, meaning kindergarten through twelfth grade as circumscribed by the US public education model that ends when students reach approximately age eighteen. More specifically, the majority of my study focuses on children in elementary school from around ages five to eleven. I do include a few

[27] Spotify's curation of musical playlists demonstrates this conception of genre. See Simmy Richman, "Spotify's 1,371 Musical Genres: How to Tell Drone Folk from Skwee," Independent, November 16, 2015, https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/music/features/spotifys-1371-musical-genres-how-to-tell-drone-folk-from-skweee-a6736971.html; Spotify, last accessed March 14, 2020, https://www.spotify.com/us/; The distinctions between radio stations, Grammy awards, and NPR podcasts are other public-facing examples illustrating classical music's understanding as a genre. See "2020 Grammy Awards: The Full List of Winners," NPR, January 26, 2020, https://www.npr.org/2020/01/26/799752326/2020-grammy-awards-the-full-list-of-winners; "Music Radio," NPR, last accessed March 14, 2020, https://www.npr.org/music/radio.

examples that address young children before they reach school-age as well as youth in middle school and high school.

The rationale for focusing on young people is that publications on youth classical music programs typically center on their adult creators rather than their young listeners and participants. Because of this, there is currently little known about the reception of such programs among their target audiences. By contrast, this study makes young people's cultural knowledges and voices instrumental in understanding whether the justifications made by adults for the value of classical music in their lives fit with their own interpretations. This approach requires three important research methods: (1) archival research on fan mail written by young listeners about programs of the past; (2) interviews with young people about their experiences participating in present-day programs; and (3) participatory research with young people designing and implementing innovative music curricula that critically engages with classical music.

Classical Music Introductions for Children and Young People in the United States

Classical music concerts specifically curated for youth audiences in the United States began in the mid-nineteenth century and continue through the present. Historians of music education, notably Sondra Wieland Howe, Michael Mark, and Marcia L. Thoen, have traced some of the earliest examples. The Germania Society Orchestra of Boston's afternoon concert for children in April of 1849 is the earliest cited example that I have found.[28] Other nineteenth-century examples include conductor Theodore Thomas's 1885–86 series of twenty-four Young

[28] Michael L. Mark and Charles L. Gary, *An History of American Music Education* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), 190 as referenced in Marcia L. Thoen, "Early Twentieth Century Orchestra Education Outreach in Minneapolis: Young People's Symphony Concert Association and the Repertoire Programmed and Conducted by Emil Oberhoffer 1911-1922," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education* XXX1:1 (2009), 48.

People's Matinees[29] and Walter Damrosch's series of six concerts in 1891 with the New York Symphony Orchestra for young people.[30] By the early twentieth-century, children's concerts became more common across several US orchestras. The Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra began young people's concerts in 1911. Between 1923 and 1930, orchestras in the following cities also presented children's concerts: Kansas City, Missouri; Detroit, Michigan; Rochester, New York;[5] Cincinnati, Ohio;[6] San Diego, California;[7] Topeka, Kansas;[8] Cleveland, Ohio;[9] and, Bloomington, Illinois.[10] Leonard Bernstein's *Young People's Concerts* became one of the best known examples of classical music concerts for children when they began being televised in 1958. This series had, in fact, begun several decades earlier, founded in 1924 by New York Philharmonic conductor Ernest Schelling.[31]

Because my purpose is to revise the way classical music is represented to children and young people, I have been most interested in historical examples that have set trends and continued to influence twenty-first century programming. I also found that narrowing the scope of my study became crucial to its facilitation and praxis of engagement. One criterion is that I focus on programs that adults created intentionally for young people. A second criterion narrowing my scope was to look at music appreciation programs cultivating a listening practice rather than music education programs cultivating a performance practice. Two programs that have been especially influential in the history of classical music concerts for children are NBC

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[29] George Martin, *The Damrosch Dynasty: America's First Family of Music* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1983), 175-76 as cited in Sondra Wieland Howe, "The NBC Music Appreciation Hour: Radio Broadcasts of Walter Damrosch, 1928-1942," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 51 (2003): 66; Damrosch-Blaine Collection at the Library of Congress Box 17 Folder 7: New York Philharmonic and New York Symphony merger.

[30] Ibid., 66.

[31] Ernest Schelling, "Young People's Concert," January 26 and 28, 1924, *Leon Levy Digital Archives*, https://archives.nyphil.org/index.php/artifact/1c738cbf-6556-4d40-a89d-a05591cb4dd2-0.1/fullview#page/4/mode/2up.

radio's 1928–42 *Music Appreciation Hour* (MAH) conducted by Walter Damrosch and CBS television's 1958–72 *Young People's Concerts* (YPC) conducted by Leonard Bernstein. These were both nationally broadcast educational concerts for children that centered on classical music appreciation and were hosted by celebrity conductors. The MAH broadcast during the school day to classrooms across the United States, and NBC distributed workbooks for teachers and students to use in preparation for and during the radio broadcasts. When CBS television began nationally broadcasting the YPCs several decades later, viewers compared Bernstein to "Papa Damrosch."[32] The YPCs did not intentionally integrate with curricular school education, however, as they aired on Saturdays. They demonstrate a listening practice cultivated in the home, often at the encouragement of children's parents and guardians. However, teachers still exercised influence, and archival documents demonstrate how teachers assigned viewing the weekend YPCs as homework. They also centered classroom lessons on writing letters to Bernstein, drawing pictures depicting the broadcasts, and discussing Bernstein's main points.

This study also takes note of a few historical counterexamples to dominant trends. Specifically, it includes discussion of Leopold Stokowski's children's concerts in the 1930s, Dean Dixon's children's concerts in 1940s, and CBS radio's 1939–40 *Folk Music of America* (FMA) broadcasts hosted by folklorist Alan Lomax.[33] Stokowski programmed non-canonic and newly composed works on children's concerts, Dixon innovated through "Touch Concerts" for very young children and promoted the programming of Black composers and performers on children's concerts, and the FMA commissioned new works by modernistic composers, who

[32] See Chapter 1.

[33] Rufus Jones Jr. *Dean Dixon: Negro at Home, Maestro Abroad* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015); Rachel C. Donaldson, "Broadcasting Diversity: Alan Lomax and Multiculturalism," *Journal of Popular Culture* 46 (2013): 59-78.

included two white women and two Black Americans, for school day radio broadcasts. The purpose of these inclusions is to show how counterexamples to dominant trends in children's concert programming have existed for almost a century. However, these examples also show how, despite alternatives, programming remains most similar to the norms established on the MAH and YPCs.

Extant scholarship, particularly on the FMA, MAH, and YPCs, provides a foundation for my work analyzing these examples. I draw on some publications, including Alicia Kopfstein-Penk's *Leonard Bernstein and his Young People's Concerts*, for giving attention to cultural, political, and historical contexts. However, as suggested earlier, most scholarship on these programs tend to center on adult creators rather than young listeners.[34] Brian David Rozen's PhD dissertation in music education provides an exception, as it is concerned with how Bernstein's methods on YPCs contributed to music education pedagogy. It thus gives attention to young people affected by these methods.[35] Educational technology scholar William Bianchi's *Schools of the Air: A History of Instructional Programs on Radio in the United States* has been an instrumental resource. Bianchi provides a model for my work since he looks at multiple

[34] For more on the *Music Appreciation Hour*, see Theodor W. Adorno, "Analytical Study of the NBC 'Music Appreciation Hour,'" Unpublished manuscript, 1938-40.,*The Musical Quarterly* 78 (1994): 325-377; Sondra Wieland Howe, "The NBC Music Appreciation Hour: Radio Broadcasts of Walter Damrosch, 1928-1942," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 51 (2003): 64-77; Donald Carl Meyer, "The NBC Symphony Orchestra," PhD Thesis, University of California, Davis, 1994.
For more on the *Young People's Concerts*, see Sharon Gelleny, "Leonard Bernstein on Television: Bridging the Gap Between Classical Music and Popular Culture," *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 11-12 (1999): 48-67; Alicia Kopfstein-Penk, *Leonard Bernstein and his Young People's Concerts*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015; John Christian MacInnis, "Leonard Bernstein's and Roger Englander's Educational Missions: Music Appreciation and the 1961-62 Season of 'Young People's Concerts,'" MA Thesis, Florida State University, 2009; Michael Saffle, "Toward a Semiotics of Music Appreciation as Ownership: Bernstein's Young People's Concerts and 'Educational' Music Television," in *Music, Meaning, and Media*, ed. Erkki Pekkilä, David Neumeyer, and Richard Littlefield (Imatra: Hakapaino, 2006), 115-28.

[35] Brian David Rozen, "The Contributions of Leonard Bernstein to Music Education: An Analysis of his 53 Young People's Concerts," PhD diss., University of Rochester, Eastman School of Music. 1998.

programs linked through their purpose as educational radio. Because both the FMA and MAH were radio broadcasts, they are both included in Bianchi's research and he sets them side-by-side as contemporary comparisons.[36] However, like other extant publications on the FMA, MAH, and YPC, Bianchi also does not employ the methods and critical questions of childhood studies scholarship, such as discussing what young people thought or how they responded, in analyses of youth programs. Furthermore, because music for youth is understood as doing implicitly good work, scholars tend to uncritically praise the benefits of these programs rather than identify pitfalls, skepticism, or critique.

Analysis of historical programs is foundational to my broader criticisms. To bring this analysis into the present day and to involve children's perspectives more directly, I conducted ethnographic research with the North Carolina Symphony (NCS) from 2017 to 2019. I attended workshops that the NCS hosts for elementary music teachers as well as various NCS educational events including weekend Young People's Concerts, instrument zoos, and performances for children at schools and libraries. My most intensive research involved the NCS's programming of Education Concerts for North Carolina students in fourth and fifth grades. Education Concerts integrate with curricula in elementary music education, so I also traveled to elementary schools to observe teachers implementing NCS lessons, to interview students, and to interview teachers. My work with the NCS evolved into participatory research when I became involved in programming and wrote lesson plans for their 2019–2020 Education Concert season.

[36] William Bianchi, *Schools of the Air: A History of Instructional Programs on Radio in the United States* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2008).

Aiming to represent and serve children in the entire state of North Carolina—rather than a city or region as orchestras such as the San Francisco Symphony or the New York (City) Philharmonic do—the NCS claims to have the most extensive music education program of any US symphony orchestra.[37] Over 50,000 children from the eastern coast to the western mountains hear the North Carolina Symphony perform an Education Concert each concert season.[38] In fact, every year, the NCS travels more than 18,000 miles around the state of North Carolina to perform Education Concerts for fourth- and fifth-grade schoolchildren.[39] The NCS performs about twenty of these concerts on the road in addition to the fifteen Education Concerts that it performs at its home concert venue, Meymandi Hall, in Raleigh. Like many other US orchestras, the NCS receives private, corporate, and community funding to provide these concerts at little to no cost for its young audience members.[40] Unlike many other orchestras, however, the NCS also receives state funding, largely for its educational programming.[41]

I chose to study the NCS and its Education Concerts because of its extensive programming for children and because it is in the same area of North Carolina where I was living at the time of my research. My findings have been largely shaped by the unique qualities of the

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[37] "Education: Music for Life," North Carolina Symphony, last accessed July 3, 2019. https://www.ncsymphony.org/education/.

[38] "Elementary School Programs," North Carolina Symphony, last accessed July 3, 2019. https://www.ncsymphony.org/education/elementary-school-programs/.

[39] "About Our Education Program (2014)," North Carolina Symphony, YouTube video, posted June 3, 2014, accessed January 6, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S9iD1f9vS00&feature=youtu.be.

[40] Jason Spencer, Interviewed by author, iPhone recording, Raleigh, NC, February 1, 2019.

[41] According to the 2019 NCS Report to the Community, 18% of the NCS Total Operating Budget came from the State of NC Grant Funding and Administrative and 13% came from the State of NC Challenge Grant. See "2019 Report to the Community" link on the "About Us" page, North Carolina Symphony, last accessed December 20, 2019, https://www.ncsymphony.org/wp-content/uploads/2019-NCS-Report-to-the-Community.pdf; The Mission Statement on the "About Us" page on the NCS website states, in full, "Our mission is to be North Carolina's state orchestra—an orchestra achieving the highest standard of artistic quality and performance standards, and embracing our dual legacies of statewide service and music education." See "About Us," North Carolina Symphony, last accessed December 20, 2019, https://www.ncsymphony.org/our-story/.

NCS, but I also think that similarly rich findings could be made through study of a number of other US orchestras' programming for children. Many of my most valuable findings came from speaking to children and their teachers who had attended NCS Education Concerts. There is much potential for other scholars to bring similar questions to their own communities, and I imagine that such studies would result in both commonalities with and distinctions from my findings in North Carolina.

The NCS designs the Education Concerts to integrate with curricular music education in North Carolina schools through scheduling, supplemental classroom materials, and collaboration with local educators. The concerts at Meymandi Hall in Raleigh begin at 10:30 AM on weekdays so that music teachers can bring their students on field trips. In the Wake County Public School System, the county where Meymandi Hall resides, every fourth-grade student—about 14,000 total per year—attends the Education Concert.[42] As Director of Education Jason Spencer explained to me, "I think in Wake County, teachers have always known that the North Carolina Symphony is part of their curriculum, especially for fourth-grade."[43] To serve Wake County teachers as well as teachers across the state, NCS administrators partner with local educators to design supplemental materials and facilitate professional development integrating Education Concerts with music education curricula. The concert program stays the same throughout the season, featuring eight musical works by primarily canonic composers. The NCS hires four

[42] In the 2019-2020 school year, Wake County had 161,907 students in the K-12 public school system. "District Facts," Wake County Public School System, last accessed March 14, 2020, https://www.wcpss.net/Domain/100; Jason Spencer, email to author, November 4, 2019: "We have about 14,000 WCPSS 4th graders attend each season. We schedule them to attend 10 concerts, and it averages around 1,400 per concert…WCPSS does cover the ticket cost for all of their 4th graders to attend. We provide transportation funding for which teachers must individually apply. This funding comes from the state."

[43] Spencer, interview.

elementary school music educators to write the composer biographies and lesson plans in the teacher and student books, as well as present at their activities at the annual workshop.

The teacher workbook is the most extensive, including lesson activities with step-by-step procedures, sample handouts for teachers to copy and use in their music classes, and information about the featured composers and their musical works. Each activity is also designed to meet North Carolina Essential Standards in Music for fourth and fifth grade. The North Carolina State Board of Education determines standards "to serve as the authoritative source for the review, revision, and support for implementation" in each school subject. Teachers often have to offer evidence to administrators that they are meeting these standards, making the NCS materials especially valuable for specifically curricular instruction. For each of the eight featured works on an Education Concert program, there are about three to four activities, and each of these activities fulfill several state standards.[44] There are separate student workbooks, full of colorful pages highlighting each composer on that year's program with a portrait, birth and death dates, a brief biography, and three bullet-pointed "Fun Facts."

Because the Education Concert materials were implemented in schools, I also traveled to schools to interview students and their teachers using such materials in their music classrooms. I interviewed seven students and one teacher in February 2018 in response to the 2017–2018 Education Concert program. About a year later, I interviewed sixteen students and two teachers from March–May 2019 in response to the 2018–2019 Education Concert program. I also interviewed seven of my own students at GSA in March 2017 after we attended an Education Concert on a field trip together, blurring the lines between my role as ethnographic researcher and participatory researcher.

[44] "K-12 Standards, Curriculum, and Instruction," North Carolina Department of Public Instruction, last accessed February 21, 2020, http://www.dpi.state.nc.us/curriculum/.

Participatory research with GSA, a K-8 public charter school in Durham, NC, has been the most robust methodology throughout my dissertation research. My formal collaboration with the school began in April of 2017, and I taught flute lessons for middle school students through March 2020. Our collaboration was the most intensive during the 2017–2018 and the 2018–2019 school years, when together with students, teachers, and administrators we implemented three new music curriculums, hosted four performances for parents and community members, and facilitated several performances by guest artists both at GSA and on field trips. These music opportunities involved students in every grade from kindergarten through eighth grade. Almost every student in the school attended at least one of guest artist performances. The music curriculums included the largest number of students from January-June 2019, with participation from about ninety students in grades K-7 during that time. For reference, there are about two-hundred students enrolled in the school from grades K-8.

Several aspects of GSA's educational model and founding history became key components of our collaboration. GSA administrators had previously articulated their need for more music opportunities. GSA was founded in 2009 as a joint venture between the Union Baptist Church in Durham and the UNC-Chapel Hill Kenan-Flagler Business School to connect at-risk youth with a wide array of intellectual and social capital resources. 100% of students at GSA are students of color, with 57% African-American, 41% Hispanic, and 2% Multi-Ethnic. 89% of the students qualify for free and reduced lunch.[45] To support their vulnerable student population, GSA is a year-round and full-day school. All students in grades K-8 arrive at 7:30 am, receive breakfast, lunch, and snacks during the school day, and are dismissed at 6:00 pm. The school year begins in July and ends in June, divided into four quarters with three- to four-

[45] "About Us," Global Scholars Academy, last accessed February 18, 2020, https://globalscholarsacademy.org/about-us/.

week breaks between quarters. Its core curriculum focuses intensely on building students' math and reading skills, with a promise that students are guaranteed protection, affection, correction, and connections.

GSA's goal to improve the music opportunities they offer to students preceded and led to our collaboration. GSA administrators had previously reached out to UNC about this, specifically approaching music professor Chérie Rivers Ndaliko who would become my dissertation advisor. When, in 2016, Prof. Ndaliko and I began designing the engaged components of my dissertation project, it seemed mutually beneficial for me to collaborate with the school. Together with GSA administrators and my advisor, we designed a project that made addressing GSA's desire for their students to have more robust music opportunities integral to this dissertation. This is a somewhat unusual way for a participatory research project to begin, as many participatory researchers have trouble gaining access to and trust within communities that they aim to partner with. GSA's founding through a joint venture with UNC and their administrators' expression of need for improving music education made my initial pathway relatively smooth.

However, throughout the years of my engagement at GSA, there were also challenges that arose from both the specific conditions of our partnership as well as from the more systemic tensions between academic and community partnerships. As I discuss in Chapter 5, some of these challenges made it difficult for me to write about much less reach conclusions about participatory components of this study despite the fact that I spent more time conducting research with GSA than any of my other research sites. This did not lead me to question the meaningfulness of the collaboration, not least because I care deeply about the relationships built and the activities students and I carried out together. However, it did lead me to question the

purposes of academic work, particularly in musicology, resulting from community collaborations. I conclude this dissertation by asserting a greater need to situate community-engaged work as formal research, rather than side-projects. For musicologists who want to change the systemic inequalities of our disciplinary pipeline, our actions in seeking this change need to become central to our academic work.

In addition to the ethnographic and participatory research methods that situate a substantial part of this dissertation in the twenty-first century, I also analyze other media that speak to the current state of classical music representations for children. I address, for example, the powerful role the Mozart Effect plays in fueling beliefs about classical music's value in children's lives. The Mozart Effect is premised on the claim that listening to classical music, and especially music composed by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, increases intelligence. Quantitative researchers have largely debunked the idea that Mozart's music is exceptional in its intelligence-boosting ability, but the Mozart Effect still holds substantive cultural and economic influence.[46] Music therapist Don Campbell trademarked and published several books on The Mozart Effect®, including a bestseller for parents (translated into over twenty languages) about how to use Mozart's music in child development.[47] As part of my larger interrogation about common assumptions about classical music, I critically examine Campbell's materials, as well as the resulting cultural implications of the Mozart Effect's popularity within children's culture.

Children's books are another target of scrutiny in this study. I closely analyze *The Composer is Dead*, a popular multi-media work which premiered as an orchestral performance

[46] Adrian Bangerter and Chip Heath, "The Mozart Effect: Tracking the Evolution of a Scientific Legend," *British Journal of Social Psychology* (2004): 605-23; J. Newman et al., "An Experimental Test of "the Mozart Effect": Does Listening to his Music Improve Spatial Ability?" *Perceptual and Motor Skills* (1995): 1379-87.

[47] Don G. Campbell, *The Mozart Effect for Children: Awakening Your Child's Mind, Health, and Creativity with Music* (New York: William Morrow, 2000), 12-13.

piece in 2006 and was published in 2009 as a children's book. Famed youth fiction writer Lemony Snicket wrote the text as an introduction to the orchestra for children, accompanied with music by the US composer Nathaniel Stookey. *The Composer is Dead* demonstrates how exclusivity in children's concert music has persisted into the twenty-first century though its focus on dead, white, male canonic composers, even as it claims itself as an innovative update to children's concert music.

In addition to critically analyzing children's books, I also discuss how they became a core component of the curricular materials I developed with GSA, particularly in our Music and Storytelling classes for K-2 students. In Music and Storytelling, I proposed new strategies for teaching music history by intentionally utilizing storybooks, primarily biographical, that represent musicians from a wide variety of musical genres, geographic locations, and time periods. Reading and discussing these storybooks fostered students' critical thinking skills and background knowledge, while performing musical activities related to the storybooks' lessons fostered their creative and musical skills. I discuss in Chapter 4 why my curricula at GSA extended beyond classical music history to more broadly address music history. I also discuss the children's books *For the Love of Music: The Remarkable Story of Maria Anna Mozart*, *Drum Dream Girl: How One Girl's Courage Changed Music*, *Tito Puente, Mambo King/Tito Puente, Rey del Mambo*, *Becoming Bach*, and *Nina: Jazz Legend and Civil-Rights Activist Nina Simone*, each of which were part of the K-2 Music and Storytelling curriculum at GSA.

Critical Musicology and Critical Pedagogy

Several areas of scholarship influence the critical position of this study and its core argument. In addition to my disciplinary identification as a musicologist, several additional

disciplines and fields of academic scholarship inform my work including ethnomusicology, cultural studies, music education, childhood studies, and critical pedagogy.

This dissertation builds on the foundation of critical musicology by foregrounding age, which has yet to be fully explored as a prominent analytical lens. To make my case for the value of including young people within musicological scholarship, I draw on the ample work that musicologists have done to deconstruct gender, sexuality, race, class, ethnicity, nationality, and other identity categories for several decades. I trace this approach back to the disciplinary turn that came in the 1980s and early 1990s, when scholars such as Lawrence Kramer and Joseph Kerman argued that musicology should be less concerned with source study and fact-finding, or what has been deemed positivist scholarship.[48] They suggested that, instead, musicologists should analyze cultural context, meaning, and interpretation. Their disciplinary calls-for-action paired with the emergence of trailblazing studies in feminist and queer theory musicology such as Susan McClary's 1991 *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality*, Philip Brett's 1990 essay "Musicality, Essentialism, and the Closet" in the 1993 collected edition *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology*, and Ruth Solie's 1993 *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music*.[49]

Even before any of these publications, Amiri Baraka strongly criticized racist music history, categorization, and commercial exploitations in his 1963 *Blues People: Negro Music in White America* followed by Eileen Southern's *The Music of Black Americans* in 1971. These

[48] Joseph Kerman, *Contemplating Music: Challenges to Musicology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985); Lawrence Kramer, *Critical Musicology and the Responsibility of Response: Selected Essays* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006).

[49] Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2002); Philip Brett, "Musicality, Essentialism, and the Closet," in *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology*, ed. Philip Brett, Elizabeth Wood, and Gary C. Thomas (New York: Routledge, 1994), 9-26; Ruth Solie, *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

publications made important statements about the racialized boundaries of music study.[50] Despite their emphasis on difference and their critique of cultural, racial, and ethnic bias in music studies, these early manifestations of Black music study were not considered part of critical musicology. I position them here, however, because of the importance of intersectional identity studies as the legacy of critical musicology today. Such intersectionality would not have been possible without Baraka, Southern, and other scholars of Black music such as Samuel A. Floyd, Jr.[51]

A number of scholars continue to make critical interventions into cultural bias, difference, and representation in musicological study today.[52] This legacy of scholarship informs my ideological imperative to decenter the Eurocentric canon and work towards an improved ethics of music scholarship. Tamara Levitz's recent work documenting the origins of the American Musicological Society allows me to historically situate the disciplinary divisions between musicology and music education.[53] Kira Thurman, Shana Redmond, Tammy Kernodle, and Naomi André have published works affirming Black communities' involvement in and

[50] Amiri Baraka, *Blues People: Negro Music in White America* (New York: W. Morrow, 1963); Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1971).

[51] Samuel A. Floyd, Jr., *The Power of Black Music: Interpreting its History from Africa to the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

[52] A small sampling includes William Cheng, *Just Vibrations: The Purpose of Sounding Good* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016); Annegret Fauser, *The Politics of Musical Identity: Selected Essays* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015); Charles Hiroshi Garrett, *Struggling to Define a Nation: American Music and the Twentieth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); Nadine Hubbs, *The Queer Composition of America's Sound: Gay Modernists, American Music, and National Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Tamara Levitz, "In the Shadow of Zoot Suit Riots: Racial Exclusion and the Foundations of Music History," paper given at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society in Milwaukee, November 2014; Mitchell Morris, *The Persistence of Sentiment: Display and Feeling in Popular Music of the 1970s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013); Guthrie P. Ramsey, Jr., *Race Music: Black Cultures from Bebop to Hip-Hip* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Sindhumathi Revuluri, "Shifting the Gaze," in "Colloquy: Music and Sexuality," conveners Judith A. Peraino and Suzanne G. Cusick, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66 (2013): 848-852; Blake Howe, Stephanie Jensen-Moulton, Neil Lerner, and Joseph Straus, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Music and Disability Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

[53] Levitz, "The Musicological Elite."

significant contributions to classical music culture that add much nuance and complexity to academic understandings of race, genre, and culture.[54] Much of my work at GSA involved representing these scholars' findings within elementary-level music curricula. As summarized in the opening of this introduction, Alejandro L. Madrid, Suzanne Cusick, and Loren Kajikawa apply the knowledge and approaches of critical musicology to the current revisions in university music curricula.[55] I likewise use the tools of critical musicology to make curricular revisions, although rather than applying revisions at the collegiate-level, I focus on children's introductions to music in schools and symphony halls.

While critical musicologists are beginning to make university-level curricular interventions, they have generally been less successful at altering understandings of classical music and musical canons beyond the academy. For this, I turn to the critical pedagogies of Paulo Freire and bell hooks to challenge elitist discourse about classical music among the adult creators of youth music programs and to reach out to young people themselves. Brazilian scholar, educator, and activist Paulo Freire published his seminal *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in 1968 as a theory of how revolutionary leaders can co-create knowledge and liberation with those who have been oppressed by social and state conditions. The participatory research methods of my research are informed by his call to integrate praxis and reflection, as well as his cautions about the internalized oppressor within the oppressed.[56] I align with Freire by situating young

[54] Kernodle, *Soul on Soul*; Kira Thurman, "Performing Lieder, Hearing Race: Debating Blackness, Whiteness, and German Identity in Interwar Central Europe" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 72, no. 3 (Fall 2019): 825-65; Naomi André, *Black Opera: History, Power, Engagement* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2018); Shana L. Redmond, *Everything Man: The Form and Function of Paul Robeson* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2020).

[55] Madrid, "Diversity, Tokenism, Non-Canonical Musics, and the Crisis of the Humanities in U.S. Academia"; Cusick, "Listening to the Dead"; Kajikawa, "The Possessive Investment in Classical Music."

[56] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, trans. Myra Bergman Ramos (New York: Continuum, 1990).

people as co-creators of knowledge in this study. Moreover, I attempt to answer his call to integrate praxis and reflection by pairing critical analysis with research methods of engagement and intervention. Taking this approach led me to foster meaningful relationships with community partners, and also impelled me to question my own and my collaborators' biases. At times such questioning paved the way for productive shifts in GSA curricula. At other times, I noticed myself enacting biases in my praxis, such as foregrounding the work of a white woman composer compared to a Black composer in lesson plans at GSA (as I discuss in Chapter 5), that I criticize in theory and reflection (as I do in Chapter 3).

US scholar bell hooks traces her pedagogical lineage back to Freire in her influential 1994 text, *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom*."[57] hooks' other oft-cited works are exemplary models of intersectionality and Black feminist thought, but I turn specifically to *Teaching to Trangress* because of its concrete methods for engaging in liberatory conversations with students, community members, and family members.[58] This is particularly relevant to my study because of my direct engagement with young people, teachers, and administrators through participatory research at GSA. We worked together to address the changes that GSA sought and to align those changes with my scholarly goals. For example, GSA sought to integrate music curricula with literacy goals, and I aligned with that goal by designing a curriculum focused on children's books about music. Using the educational medium of

[57] Hooks includes a chapter titled "Paulo Freire," for example. bell hooks, *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

[58] Influential works by hooks include *Ain't I a Woman?: Black Women and Feminism* (Boston: South End Press, 1981); *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* (Boston: South End Press, 1984); *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics* (Boston: South End Press, 1990); *All About Love: New Visions* (New York: William Morrow, 2000).

children's books then fostered many productive discussions and lessons among GSA students that challenged hegemonic notions of classical music culture and music history.

Scholarship With/For/About Children and Young People

In pursuing questions of how to center children's insights and how to contextualize my findings within childhood studies, there are also other scholars whose research on music by, for, with or about children impacted the course of my work. Several ethnomusicologists and musicologists provide exemplary models for centering on childhood and youth from critical perspectives. Of particular relevance is Geoffrey Baker's study of the Venezuelan youth orchestra powerhouse El Sistema, which he positions as one of the only studies to take a critical approach to the otherwise blindly lauded program. Baker points out the distinction between rhetoric, and especially the metaphor of the orchestra as ideal social model of society, and the reality of young musicians' experiences in the program. He argues that while it is rhetorically easy to say that El Sistema teaches young musicians to play and cooperate together harmoniously, in many ways young people are silenced in deference to the authoritarian roles of adult music directors. Since much of my work is concerned with rhetoric and criticisms of widely lauded programs, Baker's strategies for navigating these analyses directly inform my work.[59] Baker was, at the time of his publication in 2014, one of the first to raise critique of El Sistema, but since then an increasingly robust body of critical work has placed the program and its many offshoots in the United States under greater scrutiny.[60] Because of this scholarship and

[59] Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[60] Anna Bull, "El Sistema as a Bourgeois Social Project: Class, Gender, and Victorian Values," *Action, Criticism, and Theory for Music Education* 15, no. 1 (January 2016): 120-153; Robert Fink, "Resurrection Symphony: El Sistema as Ideology in Venezuela and Los Angeles," *Action, Criticism, and Theory for Music Education* 15, no. 1 (January 2016): 33-57; Michael Sy Uy, "Venezuela's National Music Education Program El Sistema: Its Interactions with Society and its Participants' Engagement in Praxis," *Music and Arts in Action* 4, no. 1 (January

because of El Sistema's intent is to teach children how learn *to play* classical music rather than how *to listen* to it, I did not choose to study El Sistema. However, I do hope that the community of scholars concerned with El Sistema will find similar resonances in my critique of widely lauded classical music programs for children.

Historical musicologists Anicia Chung Timberlake and Roe-Min Kok also provide models of critical, youth-centered music scholarship. Timberlake studies children's music education in the German Democratic Republic, noting how children's artistic activities were less monitored by state surveillance than those of adult culture. She criticizes how educational initiatives were often designed with the assumption that children were blank slates rather than bringing their own knowledges and experiences to musical practice. Another lesson gleaned from her work is how to analyze ideologies of citizenship, nationality, and socialism within adult-directed children's culture.[61] Kok's work on children's culture and nationalism in "Of Kindergarten, Cultural Nationalism and Schumann's *Album for the Young*" traces how adults inscribed their ideological, and often nationalistic, hopes for the future in cultural products for youth.[62] Kok also critiques the elitist, Eurocentric, and imperialist practices of her classical music education as she was growing up in postcolonial Malaysia, evidenced in her essay contribution to

2012): 5-21; Elaine Sandoval, "Making Space in the State: Música Llanera and the Spectacular in Venezuela's El Sistema," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology in Bloomington, IN, November 7-10, 2019.

[61] Anicia Chung Timberlake. "The Politics and Practice of Children's Music Education in the German Democratic Republic (1949-1989)," PhD Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 2015; Anicia Chung Timberlake, "Brecht for Children: Shaping the Ideal GDR Citizen Through Opera Education," *Representations* 132 (2015): 30-60.

[62] Roe-Min Kok, "Of Kindergarten, Cultural Nationalism and Schumann's *Album for the Young,*" *The World of Music* 48 (2006): 111-33.

the 2006 edited collection that she co-edited with Susan Boynton, *Musical Childhoods and the Cultures of Youth*.[63]

Indeed, there are three edited collections that shed light on the research methods, content areas, and community of scholars working on childhood and youth in music studies. Kok and Boynton's edited collection includes essays by ethnomusicologists and musicologists listening to youth culture across wide geographic areas and time periods. It is an example of interdisciplinary music scholarship, but considering that both editors are historical musicologists, it is also the first substantial publication on children and music with a stronghold in historical musicology scholarship. Though also small, there is a longer practice of studying youth music in ethnomusicology. Music educator and ethnomusicologist Patricia Shehan Campbell has done much to legitimatize children's musical practices among academic communities.[64] In her 2013 edited collection with Trevor Wiggins, *The Oxford Handbook of Children's Musical Culture*, Campbell, Wiggins, and essay contributors from ethnomusicology and music education argue for an interdisciplinary approach to young people's music making. However, despite Kok and Boynton's publication seven years earlier, there are no essays by musicologists in Wiggins and Campbell's collection. This shows a marked division among academic music disciplines that my study works to bridge. The third collection, *Voicing Girlhood in Popular Music: Performance, Authority, Authenticity*, edited by popular music scholars Jacqueline Warwick and Allison Adrian, draws from scholars both inside and outside of music disciplines and demonstrates a link to girlhood studies writ large as well as those with respect to musical cultures. Together, these

[63] Kok, "Music for a Postcolonial Child."

[64] Patricia Shehan Campbell, *Songs in Their Heads: Music and its Meaning in Children's Lives* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

edited collections demonstrate the necessarily interdisciplinary nature of childhood studies, even from within different disciplines of music scholarship. I align with them by affirming the necessity of more interdisciplinary connections between musicology and music education, especially with respect to children's introductions to the classical music canon.

Methodologically, in taking an approach to music scholarship that prioritizes research methods with children, ethnomusicologist and childhood studies scholar Tyler Bickford's *Schooling New Media: Music, Language, and Technology in Children's Culture* became a helpful model.[65] This book is based on Bickford's dissertation field work among middle school students in rural Vermont, and it demonstrates a recent example of ethnomusicology's longer legacy than musicology in embracing research with children.[66] There are parallels between Bickford's and my work, most obviously that we both conduct ethnographic work with children, but I distinguish myself by situating that work within musicology rather than ethnomusicology. My praxis of participatory research is also distinctive, in that Bickford sought to understand children's musical tastes and interactions without actively seeking to make changes, whereas my research among children is more interventionist. My research seeks to change the environment within which I study, which is different from ethnographers' more typical resolve that, while

[65] Tyler Bickford, *Schooling New Media: Music, Language, and Technology in Children's Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2017); Other youth-centered scholarship by Bickford includes "The New 'Tween' Music Industry: The Disney Channel, Kidz Bop, and an Emerging Childhood Counterpublic," *Popular Music* 31/3 (2012): 417–36; "Music of Poetry and Poetry of Song: Expressivity and Grammar in Vocal Performance," *Ethnomusicology* 51/3 (2007): 439–76; *Tween Pop: Children's Music and Popular Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2020).

[66] John Blacking, *Venda Children's Songs: A Study in Ethnomusicological Analysis* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1967); Patricia Shehan Campbell, *Songs in Their Heads: Music and its Meaning in Children's Lives* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Amanda Minks et al., "Music and Childhood: Creativity, Socialization, and Representation," *The World of Music* 48 (2006): 1-168.

their presence may change the research environment, they are mindful to minimize their impact and acutely aware that any changes are not made intentionally.

In light of my interventionist intent, I also align with music education scholar Juliet Hess's 2019 *Music Education for Social Change*, which demonstrates the growing influence of critical pedagogy in music education scholarship.[67] Throughout the text, Hess makes clear the increasing concern within music education for ethically and critically engaged approaches to music learning in K-12 spaces. She also makes explicit how education systems have as much potential to oppress their participants as they do to empower. Relevant to my study, her work demonstrates that there is a strong community of music educators seeking to shift dominant paradigms of music education. However, bringing critical pedagogy and music education together has typically meant a shift away from classical music performance and history. My work fits in with these efforts by asserting the importance of children also developing critical tools for understanding classical music and its history.

Overview

The five chapters of this dissertation move from historical and contemporary critique to engagement and invention. In Chapters 1, 2, and 3, I lay out arguments critiquing the ways in which classical music has historically been represented to children and young people in the United States and how these historical tendencies have remained persistent into the twenty-first century. A few of the methodologies I use are comparatively unusual within the discipline of musicology—such as centering children's perspectives and covering a broad time span—but

[67] Juliet Hess, *Music Education for Social Change* (New York: Routledge, 2019).

these methodologies have still been well-established in other disciplines such as childhood studies and cultural studies.

Chapters 4 and 5 make a methodological shift that mirrors their shifted purpose. While these chapters continue to make critical arguments, the arguments pair with engagement and intervention. As the researcher, I insert myself into the problems that I point out. Ideally, I would provide creative solutions to the problems as well as offer resources for others to follow "new approaches" in representing classical music to children and young people. In reality, I often felt I was participating and even contributing to the same problems that I sought to rectify. In the weeds of the research, I often felt ashamed and uncertain about my purpose when I noticed myself replicating the systemic privilege of my whiteness or finding protection behind my shield of university-sanctioned research. In reflection, these discomforts linger, but I also position the contradictory nature of my research participation as part of the critical pedagogy and participatory research approaches guiding my work. As a result, the turn of this dissertation is also a turn away from the confidence of distanced critique to one of immersive subjectivity and uncertainty.

Chapter 1 draws attention to the rationale behind, and stakes of, believing (1) that classical music is always doing good work in children's lives and (2) that it is better for children than other genres. It does so to explain why the interventions of later chapters, which strategize a critically engaged approach to classical music programming for youth, are necessary. I organize this chapter in three chronological sections to trace continuities and changes in how adults and young people have made assumptions about classical music's value throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first centuries. This chapter shows how early-twentieth-century programs exemplified by the MAH promoted classical music as a civilizing and democratizing influence

on children. It analyzes the implications behind conflating classical music with "good music," and it also provides a focused and personal example of the music appreciation movement's impact on the childhood of conductor Dean Dixon. It then charts the decline and less consistent use of the phrase "good music" into the 1960s through analysis of the YPCs and archival fan mail written by young people to Leonard Bernstein. The final section of this chapter examines how, as the "good music" phrase started to fall out of vogue, research on the Mozart effect came into the fore. Rather than trying to prove or disprove whether classical music is better for children than other musical genres, I position such a question as evidence of adults' and even young people's continued allegiance to privileging classical music's importance.

Chapter 2 historicizes the idea that children should first learn the works by canonic composers deemed standard and traces the persistence of this idea into the twenty-first century. To this end, it incorporates analysis of examples from nearly a century of children's concert music repertoire, notably *The Composer is Dead* children's book and performance piece and the MAH. I argue that the composers implicated in teaching children the standard works of the canon first means that, even today, many US children do not see their race, cultural, or gender identities reflected in the composers that educational concerts, children's books, and posters most prominently display. I also present evidence—the perspectives of children who consume educational media on classical music—that further nuances this argument. In particular, this chapter analyzes interviews with children responding to a twenty-first century example of educational programming, the NCS Education Concerts, and it analyzes a discussion about composer posters among elementary school students at GSA. Based on these conversations, I extend my argument to propose that children notice classical music culture's identity through the lens of exception. "Exception," as I interpret in my conversations among children, may refer to a

composer who is unlike the others on a concert program—such as when a composer stands out for being the only woman or the only person-of-color on a concert program—or even unlike children themselves. I examine how adults' curations of educational materials about composers informs this lens, but I ultimately give the most weight to children's own interpretations.

In Chapter 3, I analyze the racial and gender make-ups of children's concert audiences attending two concert series, as well as the motivations for supporting children's concerts. One, a historical example, is the 1958–72 YPCs conducted by Bernstein to which parents and guardians brought their children on Saturdays. The other, more recent example is the NCS Education Concerts (which I studied from 2017 to 2019), to which teachers bring their students on weekdays. The two concert series articulate different racial configurations of their audiences. Gender, however, is unlike race in the context of the audience. While white women and girls were not historically encouraged to compose or contribute to the repertoire of classical music culture, they have held long-established seats in symphony halls' audiences.[68] This holds for both the televised mid-twentieth century YPCs and the early twenty-first century NCS Education Concerts, where there is no obvious inequity between boys and girls in audiences. While Chapter 2 argues that, in the context of composer representation, children notice exceptions to the canon, Chapter 3 shows how inequities in audience identity politics do not function in the same way. Instead they highlight greater inequities in race than in gender when it comes to symphony concert attendance. People-of-color and specifically Black Americans, indeed, have been systemically excluded from US concert halls both onstage and in the audience, both through

[68] One way to trace this engagement is through white women's roles as patrons. See Linda Whitesitt, Women's Support and Encouragement of Music and Musicians," in *Women in Music*, ed. Karin Pendle (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 301-313; as well as the chapter titled "Women Patrons and Activists" in Carol Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 202-228.

legal and social segregation.[69] Moreover, analysis of my ethnographic experiences with the NCS also show that women composer's marginalized identities are far more often affirmed and celebrated than those of composers-of-color. I argue that these differences continue to play out in who has a seat in the symphony hall and how they gain access. While youth concert series are heralded as opening the doors of the classical music institution, without structurally challenging *how* classical music is represented to children and young people, classical music identity continues to be replicated based on historical exclusions.

At the convergence of critique and engagement, Chapter 4 offers both an argument and an intervention. Based on scholarly discourse and my own experiences in K-12 music classes, I argue that it is necessary to bridge the historical divisions between the disciplines of musicology and music education in order to improve the dominant representations of classical music and music history in K-12 settings. This argument is informed by participatory research I conducted with GSA where my aim was to implement innovative curricula. Aspects of that effort were successful, but throughout my time at GSA I encountered many limitations to fully realizing my curricular and ideological goals as a musicologist in a music education setting. Rather than situating these resulting limitations as a cross-disciplinary failure, however, these limitations substantiate my argument that more robust collaboration is integral to shifting how children come to understand classical music, its history, and its relationship with other musical traditions. This chapter begins by investigating why musicology and music education have shared little overlap in scholarship despite many shared interests. I then describe my participatory research

[69] For a famous example of a Black American performer protesting concert halls' racial segregation, particularly with respect to discrimination by an organization run by white women, see "Marian Anderson Bars Seating Segregation at D.A.R. Hall Concert," *The Baltimore Sun*, October 6, 1942, 7. Anderson's actions to protest segregation are also depicted in a picture book for children. Pam Muñoz Ryan, *When Marian Sang: The True Recital of Marian Anderson the Voice of a Century*, illus. Brian Selznick (New York: Scholastic Press, 2002).

experiences designing and implementing a Music and Storytelling curriculum for K-2 students at GSA. In this context, I functioned both as an engaged musicologist and, to a certain degree, as a participant observer music educator. Not only did this curriculum present critical contextualizing narratives of important figures from music history, specifically Millo Castro Zaldarriaga, Nina Simone, and J.S. Bach, it also resulted in performance pieces adhering to the needs and desires of the GSA community. I share the successes and challenges of these units and describe how they informed my goal of creating more critically-conscious materials for practicing music educators to represent music history and specifically the history of classical music in their classrooms.

Finally, in Chapter 5, I argue that effectively shifting children's introductions to classical music necessitates the consideration *and* the production of resources, curricula, lesson plans, and/or activities that music teachers can immediately implement in their classrooms. I describe how I attempted to enact this argument by creating new resources based on two existing resources familiar to many music educators, Recorder Karate and NCS Education Concerts. In the first section of this chapter, I describe the development of Music History Recorder Karate, a curriculum for GSA students in grades 3-5 based on a resource that has been popular among music educators for decades, Recorder Karate. This GSA curriculum was heavily influenced by 3-5 students' input, and it included a unit on US composer Ruth Crawford Seeger's orchestral arrangement of a folk song, "Rissolty Rossolty." In section two, I discuss how my engagement with GSA and the NCS intersected when the NCS programmed "Rissolty Rossolty" on its 2019–2020 Education Concert. This also involved an institutional collaboration with the Library of Congress, where archival materials on "Rissolty Rossolty" are held. As a result, I adapted the GSA Music History Recorder Karate lesson activities on "Rissolty Rossolty" that incorporated archival documents from the Library of Congress for the NCS Education Concert teacher and

student workbooks. This chapter shows how directly involving children in the development of the resources not only contributes to the effectiveness of said resources, but also demonstrates how young people can and should play a pivotal role in knowledge building. Using existing mechanisms for distributing resources, exemplified by the integration of our lessons into NCS Education Concerts, addresses the gap between the existence of resources and music teachers' knowledge and use of them. In doing so, it also attempts to address the gap between the knowledge of critical approaches to classical music and common understandings among children and young people.

In concluding this study, I assert that changing how classical music is represented to children and young people must be done in collaboration with those participating in its common practice, particularly youth and educators. Situating these collaborative efforts as formal research, rather than side-projects, is crucial to making such changes systemic and sustainable. More broadly, I aim to demonstrate how musicologists and academics writ large can employ collaborative research methods in working to address the inequities embedded in music curricula and the educational pipeline.

CHAPTER 1:
Articulating Cultural Hierarchy from "Good Music" to the Mozart Effect

In the early 2000s, the Americans for the Arts launched a campaign, "The Arts. Ask for More," to promote arts opportunities for children through print and television advertisements. These promotional efforts equated arts enrichment with a healthy diet.[70] "Raisin Brahms," a play on Kellogg's Raisin Bran® cereal and the composer Johannes Brahms, became the campaign's most celebrated advertisement.[71] Its television commercial opens to a family of four sitting down at their kitchen table on a sunny morning. As the young boy asks, "What's for breakfast?" a grand piano suddenly bursts through the kitchen wall with an old bearded man in tow. The children exclaim "Johannes Brahms!" in immediate recognition of the nineteenth-century German classical music composer. Brahms lifts a fuchsia-colored cereal box and explains, "I bring you arts-enriched Raisin Brahms, fortified with increased test scores und creative problem-solving skills." The boy slurps a spoonful of the cereal and declares, "It's good!" to which

[70] "The Arts. Ask for More: National Arts Education Public Awareness Campaign," The Arts. Ask for More, accessed October 15, 2018, http://artsaskformore.artsusa.org/the_ads/. In addition to "Raisin Brahms," other print advertisements from the 2002 launch included "Tchaikovsky's Nut Crackers," punning on Russian composer Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky's *Nutcracker* ballet; "Elizabeth Barrett Brownies," for English poet Elizabeth Barrett Browning; and Van Goghgurt, a play on Dutch painter Vincent Van Gogh and Yoplait's GoGurt® brand of low-fat yogurt for children. "The Arts. Ask for More" campaign continued through 2010 with other advertisement series comparing contemporary popular culture to historical arts figures including American jazz musicians Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington, Italian painter Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, Cuban singer Celia Cruz, American choreographer Martha Graham, Greek poet Homer, American poet Walt Whitman, and British writer Virginia Woolf.

[71] "Raisin Brahms," more than any other advertisement, inspired video parodies, internet memes, and even T-shirts. See "Raisin Brahms," YouTube, accessed October 16, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=raisin+brahms; "Raisin Brahms," Imgur, accessed October 16, 2018, https://imgur.com/gallery/9DLe0su; "Raisin Brahms Male Shirt," Audition Café, accessed October 16, 2018, https://auditioncafe.com/product/raisin-brahms-male-shirt/.

Brahms replies, "Und good for you!" Then both children sport beards. But "Don't worry," Brahms says, "it's the power of the arts!"[72]

This delightfully bizarre and popular commercial illustrates several assumptions about the benefits and value of classical music in the lives of children. By using Brahms to embody the music component of an arts enrichment campaign, "Raisin Brahms" exemplifies how, as music education and ethnomusicology scholar Patricia Shehan Campbell has shown, educational music programs for young people in the United States overwhelmingly privilege Western classical music over other musical traditions.[73] Furthermore, showcasing Brahms demonstrates the tendency of classical music programs, especially those for children, to foreground nineteenth-century, dead, white, male, European composers, rather than the many composers of more diverse race, class, gender, and cultural backgrounds. "Raisin Brahms" also expresses the pervasive belief that classical music always and implicitly does good work in children's lives—"It's good! Und good for you." These assumptions have a long and complex history and, as I argue, continue to influence the popular understandings of classical music and the ways young people first encounter the genre. This dissertation deconstructs and counteracts beliefs about the assumed superiority of classical music for children, beginning, in this chapter, with historical contextualization.

Parents and educators have long prioritized classical music in children's lives because many believe it is intellectually nutritious and wholesome. In 1848, for example, composer and parent Robert Schumann detailed in his *Advice to Young Musicians*, "With sweetmeats, pastry

[72] "Raisin Brahms Commercial," SchoolTube, accessed January 27, 2016, http://www.schooltube.com/video/9ea7965cdff6bf6a5e58/Raisin-Brahms-Commercial.

[73] Patricia Shehan Campbell, *Teaching Music Globally: Experiencing Music, Expressing Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

and confectionary we cannot bring up children in sound health. The mental food must be as simple and nourishing as the bodily. Great composers have sufficiently provided for the former; keep to their works."[74] As music education scholar Juliet Hess notes in a 2018 article, "Given both this historical record of privileging Western classical music and the combination of elements currently practiced that enable this systemic privileging, perhaps it is not a surprise that at multiple steps in this cycle, educators, students, and future educators have developed an attitude that classical music is somehow 'good for you.'"[75] This chapter analyzes "this historical record" by looking at how classical music has been labeled and discussed in conversations for young people by adults as well as among young people themselves. Specifically, I deconstruct the idea that classical music is not only "good for you" but also better than other genres of music for children. This belief has been upheld in the labeling of classical music as "good music" during the early- and mid-twentieth century, and then was bolstered with pseudo-scientific research about its claimed intellectual benefits in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

In my efforts to analyze how classical music is represented to children and young people, I have found that many people assume such work takes the position of advocacy and aims to fight against fear that classical music appreciation and learning are vanishing. Musicologist Julian Johnson articulates this concern in 2002 in *Who Needs Classical Music?* which begins by noting classical music's "apparent devaluation today and the consequences of its current legitimation crisis," and fear of loss is further evoked in literary scholar Lawrence Kramer's

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[74] Robert Schumann, *Advice to Young Musicians*, trans. Henry Hugo Pierson (London: J. Schuberth & Co., 1860), 12-14; See also Roe-Min Kok, "Negotiating Children's Music: New Evidence for Schumann's 'Charming' Late Style." *Acta musicologica* LXXX/1 (2008): 99-128.

[75] Juliet Hess, "Interrupting the Symphony: Unpacking the Importance Placed on Classical Concert Experiences," *Music Education Research* 20, no. 1 (2018), 15.

2007 monograph, *Why Classical Music Still Matters*.[76] But it is not a fear that I share. On the contrary, my assumption is that classical music is not going away anytime soon. Most recently, musicologist John Sheinbaum engages with Johnson and Kramer by writing about the history of classical music's privilege, stating in his 2019 monograph *Good Music: What Is It and Who Gets to Decide*: "In many contexts within Western society over the past two centuries, a network of ideological beliefs has served to valorize a particular kind of 'good' music—highly serious, magnificently unified, wonderously deep, stylistically authentic, heroically created, and strikingly original—and to marginalize musics that do not live up to such ideals."[77] Sheinbaum argues that, despite its history of association not only as "good" but as "the best" music, classical music can only remain relevant if it is disentangled from hierarchies of value. He suggests that marginalized musics are also linked to marginalized people, a conclusion that has further critical implications.

Indeed, the close associations between musical genres and identity means that ranking repertoires and musical genres—symphonies over hip hop performances, for example—is also a ranking, however inadvertent, of people. Scholars of Black music, for example, have demonstrated how devaluing musical styles and idioms created in Black communities veils the underlying devaluation of Black culture and people.[78] Scholars of popular music have made similar connections, showing how much of the criticism against female pop stars is connected to

[76] Julian Johnson, *Who Needs Classical Music? Cultural Choice and Musical Value* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 1; Lawrence Kramer, *Why Classical Music Still Matters* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

[77] John J. Sheinbaum, *Good Music: What Is It and Who Gets to Decide* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 16-17.

[78] Amiri Baraka, *Blues People: Negro Music in White America* (Perennial, 2002), 17-31; Kyra Gaunt, *The Games Black Girls Play: Learning the Ropes from Double-Dutch to Hip-Hop* (New York: New York University Press, 2006); Ronald Radano, *Lying Up a Nation: Race and Black Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

the devaluation of their tween girl fanbase.[79] Disco music's origins at the intersections of US marginalized communities—primarily LGBTQ, women, and Black communities—led to vehement criticism from contemporary rock-and-roll fans, largely white men who were threatened during the 1970s economic recession.[80]

The assumed and often unspoken beliefs of musical genres' value have real consequences. The ways in which racist skinheads have championed classical music over other genres to justify their belief in white supremacy over other races is a damaging example of such musical hierarchies of value.[81] The often unmasked conflation of classical music with whiteness means that the assumed cultural superiority of classical music is often an implicit championing of white culture. To then say that classical music is more valuable than other genres is to wade into a messy web of cultural and racial superiority. Furthermore, music educators have discovered how reliance on the Western classical music tradition alienates many children from realizing their creative potentials.[82] Indeed, historical research reveals how racially exclusionary music pedagogy in US music education led to the near one-hundred percent attrition rate of Black students from school music programs.[83]

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[79] Diane Pecknold, "'These Stupid Little Sounds in Her Voice': Valuing and Vilifying the New Girl Voice," as well as other essays in *Voicing Girlhood in Popular Music: Performance, Authority, Authenticity*, ed. Jacqueline Warwick and Allison Adrian (New York: Routledge, 2016), 77-98.

[80] Mitchell Morris, *The Persistence of Sentiment: Display and Feeling in Popular Music of the 1970s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013).

[81] Pieslak, Jonathan. *Radicalism and Music: An Introduction to the Music Cultures of Al-Qa-ida, Racist Skinheads, Christian-Affiliated Radicals, and Eco-Animal Right Militants* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2015), 64-5 and 104-5; Benjamin R. Teitelbaum, *Lions of the North: Sounds of the New Nordic Radical Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

[82] Patricia Shehan Campbell, *Teaching Music Globally: Experiencing Music, Expressing Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Juliet Luisa Hess, "Radical Musicking: Challenging Dominant Paradigms in Elementary Music Education," PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2013; Danielle Brown, *East of Flatbush, North of Love: An Ethnography of Home*. Brooklyn: My People Tell Stories, LLC, 2015.

[83] Ruth Iana Gustafson, *Race and Curriculum: Music in Childhood Education* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

Yet conflating classical music with whiteness, masculinity, and Eurocentricity is a mistaken assumption that further erases the many examples of identity and cultural diversity in classical music's history and current practice. In other words, there is a difference between representations of classical music and classical music itself. Music scholars today are well-aware that there is much more to classical music history than the dead, white, European male composers it is most commonly associated with.[84] However, composers such as William Grant Still, Hildegard von Bingen, Ruth Crawford Seeger, Florence Price, and Silvestre Revueltas, who all break racial, cultural, and/or gender stereotypes within their musical activities, continue to be obscure names to the lay listener.[85] These composers rarely appear on concert programs or in educational materials for children and youth.

Despite the critical stakes of the entanglements between classical music, value, identity, and canon formation, scholars tend to praise the benefits of youth classical music programs rather than identify pitfalls, skepticism, or critique.[86] Even publications that pay attention to the cultural, political, and historical contexts of such music programs tend to center on adult creators

[84] US music scholars including Amiri Baraka, Eileen Southern, Susan McClary, Philip Brett, and Ruth Solie have long criticized the privileged history of Western classical music and the imbalances of power perpetuating its exclusivity. See Amiri Baraka, *Digging: The Afro-American Soul of American Classical Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1971); Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2002); Philip Brett, "Musicality, Essentialism, and the Closet," in *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology*, ed. Philip Brett, Elizabeth Wood, and Gary C. Thomas (New York: Routledge, 1994), 9-26; Ruth Solie, *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Alejandro L. Madrid, "Diversity, Tokenism, Non-Canonical Musics, and the Crisis of the Humanities in US Academia," *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* 7 (2017): 124-30.

[85] Many scholars have worked to show identity diversity and multiculturalism within classical music's history. See Judith Tick, *Ruth Crawford Seeger: A Composer's Search for American Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Nadine Hubbs, *The Queer Composition of America's Sound: Gay Modernists, American Music, and National Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Naomi André, *Black Opera: History, Power, Engagement* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2018); Kira Thurman and Kristen Turner, ""Six Easy Ways to Immediately Address Racial and Gender Diversity in Your Music History Classroom," *Musicology Now*, July 17, 2017, http://musicologynow.ams-net.org/2017/07/six-easy-ways-to-immediately-address.html.

[86] See the Introduction to this dissertation and Chapter 3.

rather than young listeners.[87] With a few notable exceptions, the assumed good of any combination of children and classical music has long shielded these programs from criticism.[88] However, identifying the cultural and identity associations of classical music is vital to understand the impact on young people, who are forming their own senses of identity and social position. While musicologists have focused on restructuring the classical music canon in curricula for undergraduate students, it is crucial to consider what preconceptions students have about music before they step into a college classroom. Indeed, preconceptions of classical music and value even determine who steps into the music classroom at all.

This chapter draws attention to the rationale behind, and stakes of, believing (1) that classical music is always doing good work in children's lives and (2) that it is better for children than other genres. It does so to explain why the interventions of later chapters, which strategize a critically-engaged approach to classical music programming for youth, are necessary. I organize this chapter in three chronological sections to trace continuities and changes in how adults and

[87] For more on the *Music Appreciation Hour*, see Theodor W. Adorno, "Analytical Study of the NBC 'Music Appreciation Hour'," Unpublished manuscript, 1938-40, *The Musical Quarterly* 78 (1994): 325-77; Sondra Wieland Howe, "The NBC Music Appreciation Hour: Radio Broadcasts of Walter Damrosch, 1928-1942," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 51 (2003): 64-77; Donald Carl Meyer, "The NBC Symphony Orchestra," PhD Thesis, University of California, Davis, 1994; William Bianchi, *Schools of the Air: A History of Instructional Programs on Radio in the United States* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2008).
For more on the *Young People's Concerts*, see Sharon Gelleny, "Leonard Bernstein on Television: Bridging the Gap Between Classical Music and Popular Culture," *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 11-12 (1999): 48-67; Alicia Kopfstein-Penk, *Leonard Bernstein and his Young People's Concerts*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015; John Christian MacInnis, "Leonard Bernstein's and Roger Englander's Educational Missions: Music Appreciation and the 1961-62 Season of 'Young People's Concerts,'" MA Thesis, Florida State University, 2009; Michael Saffle, "Toward a Semiotics of Music Appreciation as Ownership: Bernstein's Young People's Concerts and 'Educational' Music Television," in *Music, Meaning, and Media*, ed. Erkki Pekkilä, David Neumeyer, and Richard Littlefield (Imatra: Hakapaino, 2006), 115-28.
For more on Dean Dixon's children's concerts, see Rufus Jones Jr. *Dean Dixon: Negro at Home, Maestro Abroad* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015).

[88] Exceptions discussed in my introduction include Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Anicia Chung Timberlake, "Brecht for Children: Shaping the Ideal GDR Citizen Through Opera Education," *Representations* 132 (2015): 30-60; Roe-Min Kok, "Music for a Postcolonial Child: Theorizing Malaysian Memories," in *Musical Childhoods and the Cultures of Youth*, ed. Susan Boynton and Roe-Min Kok (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2006), 89-104.

young people have made assumptions about classical music's value throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first centuries. The first section, "The Music Appreciation Movement: 'Good Music' Uplifting US Youth," shows how early-twentieth-century programs promoted classical music as a civilizing and democratizing influence on children. Upwardly mobile families aimed to better themselves and their children through cultural uplift, where "good music" could raise them out of class, race, or immigration-based disadvantage. Most exemplary is NBC radio's *Music Appreciation Hour*, hosted by conductor Walter Damrosch from 1928 to 1942. My analysis of Damrosch's discourse and listener reception shows how many Americans articulated cultural hierarchies through their thoughts on classical music's value. To provide a focused and personal example of the music appreciation movement's impacts, this section also presents the childhood of conductor Dean Dixon, from his upbringing during the early-twentieth century to his career during the mid-century, when he became the first Black American to conduct a major symphony orchestra in the United States.

The second section, "Teenagers, Terminology, and *Young People's Concerts* at the Mid-Century" demonstrates how adults and young people began using the phrase "good music" less often and with less standardized meanings into the 1960s. Conductors such as Dixon still referred to classical music as "good music," but, at a time when popular music genres were gaining nationwide prominence, they also appealed to children by saying it was just as good as popular genres. Leonard Bernstein actually criticized the use of the "good music" phrase on the 1959 *Young People's Concert* titled, "What is Classical Music?" However, fan mail in response to the *Young People's Concerts* broadcasts demonstrate how young people, especially teenagers, used their preference for classical music to distinguish themselves from what they saw as their less enlightened, rock-and-roll fan peers. Their sense of alienation from their peers due to their

preference for classical music shows a tone of defensiveness driving their justifications for its, according to them, superior value.

The third and final section, "Sustaining Hierarchy Through the Mozart Effect," discusses how, as the "good music" phrase fell out of vogue, research on the Mozart effect came into the fore. The belief that listening to classical music—and especially music composed by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart—increases one's intelligence traces back to research that French physician and psychologist Alfred Tomatis began in the 1960s. While quantitative researchers have since debunked the idea that Mozart's music is exceptional in its intelligence-boosting ability, it still holds substantive cultural and economic influence.[89] Music therapist Don Campbell trademarked and published several books on The Mozart Effect® including a bestseller for parents, translated into over twenty languages, on how to use Mozart's music in child development.[90] In this third section of the chapter, I unpack the exceptionalizing rhetoric around Mozart and classical music. The Mozart effect shows how the shift away from "good music" was also a shift away from arguments about classical music's civilizing and democratizing powers and a shift towards touting it as a source for intellectual and measurable achievement. Rather than trying to prove or disprove whether classical music is better for children than other musical genres, this chapter positions such a question as evidence of adults' and even young people's continued allegiance to privileging classical music's importance.

[89] Adrian Bangerter and Chip Heath, "The Mozart Effect: Tracking the Evolution of a Scientific Legend," *British Journal of Social Psychology* (2004): 605-23; J. Newman et al., "An Experimental Test of "'he Mozart Effect': Does Listening to his Music Improve Spatial Ability?" *Perceptual and Motor Skills* (1995): 1379-87.

[90] Don G. Campbell, *The Mozart Effect for Children: Awakening Your Child's Mind, Health, and Creativity with Music* (New York: William Morrow, 2000), 12-13.

The Music Appreciation Movement: "Good Music" Uplifting US Youth

She was part of the jungle. And considering that she brought me up in the jungle, if we look at it that way, she did a fantastic job…I am a little bit unhappy about what I lost on the way up. I lost my childhood.

—Dean Dixon, February 14, 1967 interview by Kaj Kristoffersen[91]

Born in 1915 in New York City to parents who had immigrated to the United States from Barbados and Jamaica, Dean Dixon was a child of the music appreciation movement. His mother, McClara, took him to concerts at Carnegie Hall and banned him from listening to anything but "good music." At only three years old, she enrolled Dean in violin lessons and closely monitored his practice regiment. Sometimes Dean would gaze out the window at his friends playing on the street during his five-hour practice sessions. If McClara noticed, she closed the window blinds and scolded him for indulging in distractions. When he pumped his knee to keep time, she hit him with her long cane. In short, McClara worked steadfastly to discipline her son's mind and body. As Dean said to an interviewer in 1967, "she did a fantastic job." Dean graduated from the Juilliard School as the only Black American conductor in his class, conducted the NBC Symphony Orchestra, was a guest conductor for the New York Philharmonic several times including a *Young People's Concert* in 1971, and spent the golden years of his career conducting major symphony orchestras in Europe and Australia.[92] Throughout his career, children's classical music education, from listening to performing, was at the heart of his work. He believed it was imperative that young people's exposure to "good music" begin at the youngest age possible.[93] He may have "lost [his] childhood" "on the way up," but, reflecting

[91] Dean Dixon, interview by Kaj Kristoffersen, 1967, transcript, Dean Dixon Papers: Box 1, Folder 7, Schomburg Center for Black Research and Culture (SCBRC), New York Public Library (NYPL).

[92] "Dean Dixon" curriculum vitae, Dean Dixon Papers: Box 1, Folder 1, SCBRC, NYPL.

[93] Kaj Kristoffersen, "The Price of Genius: A Symphony of Bittersweet Success," biographical article on Dean Dixon, Box 1, Folder 1, SCBRC, NYPL.

on his career, he recognized the advantages of his mother's uplifting efforts. While perhaps an extreme example, Dean Dixon's childhood exemplifies the aspirations of the music appreciation movement, which advocated for "good music" as a moralizing force of uplift and cultural betterment. Although the movement did not intend to serve, or in most cases even acknowledge, Black children and other children-of-color, as it was curated with unspoken assumptions of speaking to white children, its ideology of cultural uplift would also be adapted and intertwined with racial uplift.

The US music appreciation movement began in the late nineteenth century when Americans felt they had to raise their cultural standards to be on par with Europe. The music appreciation movement waned with the beginning of World War II, when the United States gained greater global cultural power and popularity through its homegrown cultural forms of jazz and other contemporaneously popular musics.[94] As indicated in the next section of this chapter, the popularity of US culture on the global stage threatened the state of classical music culture in the United States and aligned with the decline of the music appreciation movement. However, tracing its historical roots is critical because, as Julia Chybowski explains in her 2008 dissertation on the movement, "To view music appreciation as ideology is to understand it not only as a cultural movement and a sacralization process, but also a set of beliefs and discursive patterns that have become ingrained in American culture as 'common sense'."[95]

The Dixon family demonstrates an example of the influence of the music appreciation movement on immigrant families. McClara Dean Rolston immigrated to Ellis Island from Barbados when she was twenty-five years old. She soon met Henry Charles Dixon, a bellman at

[94] Julia J. Chybowski, "Developing American Taste: A Cultural History of the Early Twentieth-Century Music Appreciation Movement," PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2008.

[95] Chybowski, "Developing American Taste," 27.

a New York City hotel who had been educated as a lawyer in Kingston, Jamaica, before he immigrated to the United States in the early 1900s. They married in New York and after Dean was born in 1915, they moved from midtown to Harlem on the brink of the Harlem Renaissance.[96] For many immigrant families at this time, assimilation was a strategy for elevating their status and wealth. For McClara specifically, the British colonial influence in Barbados had already shaped her preference for European culture. Her prescription of "good music" for Dean was as relevant to Barbadian social standards as it was to those of the United States. Dean, like many children of first-generation immigrants, children of working-class parents, and children of racial minorities, was raised with the belief that classical music would lead to a better life. Classical music would uplift him and his family. Classical music would lead the way to their embrace within US society. Its potential for betterment and goodness were "common sense."

Dixon's upbringing exemplified the music appreciation movement's ideology of cultural uplift, and, as an example of a high-achieving Black youth to his peers, Dixon himself also exemplified W.E.B. Du Bois's racial-uplift theory of the "talented tenth." From his youth, Dixon recognized that Black children in Harlem had little access to classical music education but that, as his biographer Rufus Jones Jr. summarizes, "Dixon knew you could find some of the greatest jazz and popular instrumentalists in the world right there in Harlem."[97] On January 1, 1933, Dixon founded the Dean Dixon Symphony Orchestra because, in the words of Jones, "[Dean] didn't know if [the orchestra] would succeed, but we wanted to create a training orchestra in Harlem whose primary mission was to develop the classical repertory and performance practice

[96] Jones, *Dean Dixon*, 1-4.

[97] Jones, *Dean Dixon*, 23.

for those aspiring Black musicians whose experience fell under blues and jazz."[98] His first experiences teaching and conducting were explicitly for the purpose not just of uplifting himself with "good music," but spreading "good music" to his community. In this way, Dixon's actions reflect Du Bois's 1903 essay, "The Talented Tenth," which set the tone for the Harlem Renaissance New Negro Movement by arguing "The Negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men."[99] Du Bois promoted the education of "the best and most capable of their youth" to raise the Negro race out of economic and social struggle.[100] Dixon, a child of immigrants rather than a descendent of slaves, was not of a heritage that directly linked him to US slavery. But from his childhood experiences being chased and beaten by police officers to his career setbacks when white performers scoffed at being led by a Black conductor, Dixon's race was a large determinate of his experiences. Seen as Black and brought up with a reverence for European culture, Dixon's identity was deeply entangled with the multiple levels of "uplift" that made him both an exception to his circumstances and a product of his time.[101]

If Dean Dixon's upbringing demonstrates the ideologies of uplift implied in the music appreciation movement's promotion of "good music," the NBC radio *Music Appreciation Hour* (MAH) demonstrates its rhetorical and pedagogical strategies. When NBC radio began broadcasting the MAH in 1928, it was the first nationally broadcast educational radio program

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[98] Jones, *Dean Dixon*, 23. See Kira Thurman, "Performing Lieder, Hearing Race: Debating Blackness, Whiteness, and German Identity in Interwar Central Europe," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 72, no. 3 (Fall 2019): 825-65.

[99] W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Talented Tenth" in *The Negro Problem: A Series of Articles by Representative American Negroes of To-day* (New York: James Pratt & Co., 1903), 33.

[100] Du Bois, "The Talented Tenth," 45.

[101] Racial uplift in US musical culture is further addressed in Kristen M. Turner, "Class, Race, and Uplift in the Opera House: Theodore Drury and His Company Cross the Color Line," Journal of Musicological Research 42, issue 4 (2015): 320-51; Christopher Wells, "Grand Opera as Racial Uplift: The National Negro Opera Company 1941-1962," (MA thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2009).

designed for use in schools.[102] New York Symphony conductor Walter Damrosch narrated each program, broadcast once a week during the school day to children in classrooms across the United States until 1942. In addition to listening in their classrooms, students interacted with MAH materials through teacher and student workbooks that NBC radio distributed for a small fee. Damrosch exemplified the tone of the music appreciation movement in the opening statement of the 1929-1930 Instructor's Manual: "I consider it a great privilege to be able—thanks to the radio—to contribute something towards the cultural development of our people, and cannot conceive of a more beautiful mission for an artist to fulfill."[103] He frequently referenced the great masters and geniuses of music as well as the good citizenship of his listeners. The exception to Damrosch's almost exclusive programming of works by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European composers was the performance of marches by American composers like John Philip Sousa and Karl King at the midpoint of each program while students walked in the hallways between classes.

While the presentation of exclusively "good music" on the MAH reinforced cultural hierarchy, its broadcasts on the medium of the radio were, to some, oxymoronic.[104] Dean Dixon's mother McClara continues to offer an exemplary perspective of the time, as she "was determined from the start to protect [Dean] from the 'contamination' of inferior radio music. 'So much that was worthless came over the air then,' she said, 'that we never let him listen to any of it. As soon as he came into the house the radio got out of order. And when he complained that all the other children, in other homes, listened to the radio, we told him somebody had to play the

[102] Bianchi, *Schools of the Air*, 35.

[103] Walter Damrosch, Instructor's Manual for Music Appreciation Hour, 1929-1930, Damrosch-Blaine Collection: Box 15, Folder 1, Music Division, Library of Congress (LOC).

[104] For more on classical music on the radio, see Beth E. Levy, *Frontier Figures: American Music and the Mythology of the American West* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2012), 293-310.

music that came over the air and that if he studied hard he might do so when he grew up.'…Dean was exposed, therefore, only to 'good' music.'"[105]

McClara's thoughts on music in the upbringing of her son evince how cultural hierarchy articulated itself through parents' concern for their children's wellness. In this case, it was through distinction of media rather than being explicitly based on genre. She was not just worried that Dixon would enjoy radio music, but rather that he would be contaminated by it, as if he (or perhaps she) would lose control once exposed. Dean did not disparage popular musics in the same manner as his mother during his conducting career, but her efforts to cultivate his appreciation for "good music" worked. While it is unclear whether McClara made an exception from her ban on radio listening if the radio played "good music" as could be heard on the MAH, Dixon went on to actively participate in and promote classical music appreciation often through methods similar to Damrosch's.

Damrosch and his collaborators worked to emphasize the MAH's wholesome content of symphonic music. As Damrosch stated to his "young friends" (i.e. his audience) on April 26, 1940 in a broadcast titled "Modern American Composers,"

> What a wonderful thing the radio is for music. Of course, you and I know a great deal of trash is heard over the radio, too. But when you consider that the art of printing is considered to be the greatest instrument towards propagating and spreading learning, literature, and science in spite of the trash that has also been printed we can look on the radio as having done for music the same thing in a marvelous way.
>
> A hundred years ago, a hundred and fifty years ago a fine composer had to wait a long while before his works were performed in his own city, his own country. And it took months, years, sometimes so many years that he died before it was done, to spread his music among the people of other nations because there was no quick method of demonstrating what this music was like to the people of far off. Today a young American composer who writes well can immediately have his works performed over the radio. And for instance this Friday, there are millions of you young students listening in in the public schools and in the colleges and there

[105] "Long Biography," Dean Dixon Papers: Box 1, Folder 1, SCBRC, NYPL.

> are also millions of grown-ups—of fathers of mothers of uncles and aunts and grandfathers and grandmothers who listen in at home.[106]

To Damrosch, radio itself was not the problem. Rather, the content determined a program's value. Is it trash or is it well-written music? Moreover, radio cannot only be good, but it can actually be more effective than previous forms of musical transmission. This 1940 statement arguing that radio can democratize access to the finest music—from public schools to intergenerational family members—for the greater good of society, echoes the program's early rhetoric. Damrosch was quoted in a 1929 NBC Press Release saying, "I am convinced that in three more years we can revolutionize the musical life of America…Before radio became a part of school life, at least ninety-nine per cent of our boys and girls had never heard any of the great musical works. Such music was only for the very few in the metropolitan centers whose parents took them to symphony concerts…I think it is now only a matter of time before music is thoroughly democratized—belonging not only to small groups in our great cities, but to the entire country."[107] The communal rhetoric is tantalizing to be sure. Damrosch often spoke about the radio's ability to connect communities from across the United States—young people to their elders, the "great masters" of the past to the citizens of tomorrow. But in making these connections, the MAH nudged listeners away from their previous musical and cultural knowledges. In fact, it did not acknowledge anything but formal training in classical music as musical experience.

[106] Transcript by author of *Music Appreciation Hour* 1939-40 season, Series D12 April 26, 1940: Modern American Composers. Listened to at LOC Recorded Sound Reference Center.

[107] Walter Damrosch, NBC press release for September 14, 1929, Damrosch-Blaine Collection: Box 15, Folder 1, Music Division, LOC.

The MAH promoted the idea that appreciation of "good music" was a learned skill, cultivated through the guidance of a well-refined teacher. The language of "good music" explicitly comes through in the script for a program that aired on December 6, 1929. Following a recording of *Daphnis and Chloe*, Damrosch explains, "I can assure you that we musicians think that the music which Ravel wrote is really worthwhile and that we must gradually live up to it and accustom our ears to it. I assure you got pleasure out of a great deal of it. The same would be true with a great work of literature. We have to read it again and again to really appreciate its worth. And so it is with good music."[108] To Damrosch, appreciating good music is a learned skill and an unquestionable marker of taste. Disliking "good" music is not a legitimate option. He insists that his listeners "got pleasure out of" the music, perhaps even against their knowledge. By Damrosch's standards, if a listener did not like the music, it was due to their ill-developed taste rather than the music itself.

Young people and teachers listening in on the MAH also exemplified its rhetoric of good music and cultural hierarchy. Sara Louise Ekins, a fourteen-year-old listener from Connecticut, admits that she had not thought much about music until she listened to the MAH, but is now determined "to remember the composers and their pieces…Others [presumably her teenage peers] will find their way there soon."[109] Teachers also encouraged Damrosch to help their students find their way to, as public school teacher Ruth H. Wilcox, wrote, "a better class of music than they would [comprehend] otherwise."[110]

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[108] Walter Damrosch, December 1929 Script, Damrosch-Blaine Collection: Box 16, Folder 1, Music Division, LOC.

[109] Sara Louise Ekins, "Report on the Music Appreciation Hour, 1930," National Broadcasting Company (NBC) History Files: Folder 208, Recorded Sound Reference Center (RSRC), LOC.

[110] Ruth H. Wilcox, "Report on the Music Appreciation Hour, 1930," NBC History Files: Folder 208, RSRC, LOC.

But others complained that the MAH reached too low in its uplifting efforts. An NBC evaluation report from 1929 included the following anonymous feedback from a school administrator or teacher, "It seems to me that a great deal more time is devoted to the study of the instruments as individual units than should be. Possibly this is necessary because of the number of listeners in backwood or rural communities, who haven't had the opportunity for the proper study of music, but to our boys and girls a painstaking explanation of the different instruments which they all know about and are familiar with, is tiresome and diverting."[111] By using the rhetoric of "good music"—not to mention "backwood" and "rural"—this listener drew social distinctions along lines of musical preference and knowledge. Similarly, in addition to stating an appreciation or familiarity with "good music," Ekins, Wilcox, and the anonymous responder note how their relationship with good music makes them different than others. Their statements make it clear that, in this comparison to others, their choices and musical experiences are superior.

Scholarship on articulations of "good music" in US culture appropriately draws from the work of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and US historian Lawrence Levine.[112] Bourdieu's 1979 *Distinction* theorizes how people draw class distinctions from one another through cultural taste. Bourdieu's research on taste and social status references survey questionnaires that gathered evidence from people with a wide-breadth of economic and educational statuses, ranging from manual workers to professors and art producers.[113] According to this method, he found that "nothing more clearly affirms one's 'class', nothing more infallibly classifies, than

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[111] Unknown, "Report on the Music Appreciation Hour 1930," NBC History Files: Folder 208, RSRC, LOC.

[112] Gina Bombola, "From *There's Magic in Music* to *The Hard-Boiled Canary*: Promoting 'Good Music' in Prewar Musical Films," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 12/2 (2018): 151-78; Chybowski, "Developing American Taste."

[113] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique on the Judgement of Taste* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 9.

tastes in music."[114] He goes on to explain how the aristocratic class's unquestioned acceptance of what is tasteful and what is not perpetuates social inequities. The privileged maintain their privilege by refusing to acknowledge that value judgements and biases shape their claims of beauty and taste.[115] By claiming distinctions of taste as objective, they can maintain the power structures that choices in taste reinforce. As such, the hierarchy implied in the language of "good music" works because its criteria of "good" go unquestioned. It maintains its power by assuming that the merits of "good music" are—and will continue to be—taken for granted.

Also seeking to make visible the unseen power structures of cultural preference, Levine's 1988 *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* examines how "highbrow" elite culture and "lowbrow" popular culture in the United States were constructed categories with hierarchical social functions. He reveals their construction by tracing how understandings of these categories, as well as their social connotations, shifted from the nineteenth century into the twentieth. Both Bourdieu's and Levine's works show how people in democratic societies have enforced social superiority through the distinctions of cultural taste and categories. While the categories of cultural taste may be constructed, they stemmed from and propagated harmful realities of discrimination. The terms "highbrowed" and "lowbrowed" were first phrenological terms, as Levine writes, "prominently featured in the nineteenth-century practice of determining racial types and intelligence by measuring cranial shapes and capacities."[116] This racist pseudo-science claimed that Caucasians had the highest brows and

[114] Ibid., 10.

[115] Ibid., 85-6.

[116] Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 222.

sought to justify the intellectual superiority of figures such as William Shakespeare and Charles Dickens.

In the context of the music appreciation movement, conductors, parents, and teachers promoted "good music" to children because they were already enshrouded in US society's cultural value system, but implications are different when children are first learning how to articulate themselves and their identities. Indeed, the identity politics of children take on the added layer of their identity formation. When they are younger, they are still learning who they are and how they fit into their society's cultural structures. This is evident, for example, in eleven-year old Joan Stuart's letter about Damrosch's family of musical instruments on the MAH. She writes, "I would like to join your orchestra very much but I am to [sic] little and your family is only of men."[117] Stuart noticed that Damrosch always referred to the members of the NBC Symphony Orchestra, who performed on every program, as men. Stuart's comment is not a question. While she still has time to grow, as she is "to [sic] little" now, she has already resigned that her gender will keep her from making good music herself.

Other youth, however, confronted the hegemonic identities of those making good music rather than accepting them as static. Perhaps most prominently, as Dean Dixon emerged out of childhood, he began his own "music appreciation hour" at a public library in 1932.[118] He recognized that Black children in Harlem had little access to classical music education, and his first experiences teaching and conducting were directly for the purpose of spreading good music to his community. As a young person, he experienced the racial bias of musical genres both in access and in others' cultural assumptions. While some children in his neighborhood learned

[117] Joan Stuart, "Report on the Music Appreciation Hour, 1930," NBC History Files: Folder 208, RSRC, LOC.

[118] Jones, *Dean Dixon*, 24.

music in the jazz tradition, he also wanted to show that Black people could perform classical music proficiently. He aimed to push back against the essentialist assumption that Black people are innately better at certain genres of music, stating, "It is true that jazz had been made popular by all the great negro musicians; but not all the negroes carry jazz in their blood. It is an American idea that all colored people must play jazz." Many of his classical music peers and teachers held this "American idea." He remembered how his teachers wielded essentialized notions that his musicianship better aligned with jazz than classical music repertoire and instruments, recalling, "When I was a student I used to be told so, and I struggled with the violin playing Mozart and Bach. When I was 19 and 20, during the classes, the teacher asked to each of us which instrument did we play. The pupils were white. When my turn arrived, he used to ask 'Do you play the saxophone?', my answer was 'No. The violin.' He was surprised."[119]

Dixon's strategy for changing racist perceptions was to bring classical music to his community, and his mission was to build the skills of Black classical musicians. In addition to the "music appreciation hour" library program, he founded the Dean Dixon School of Music. His school, which involved teaching violin and piano to neighborhood boys, also helped him earn money for his family. His efforts became more philanthropic when in 1944 he founded the American Youth Orchestra, a racially integrated orchestra that performed around New York City to showcase young performers and interest young listeners.[120] While the orchestra was short-lived due to insufficient funding, it would go on to inspire the Symphony of the New World,

[119] Dean Dixon, La Vanguardia Interview, 1964, Dean Dixon Papers: Box 1, Folder 6, SCBRC, NYPL.

[120] "Dean Dixon Biography," Dean Dixon Papers: Box 1, Folder 1, SCBRC, NYPL.

credited as the pioneering orchestra for racial integration, which performed its first concert in 1965, led by conductor and friend of Dixon, Benjamin Steinberg.[121]

Dixon questioned who performed and listened to classical music, but, like many Americans making their way into the mid-century, he did not question classical music's assumed value. Like Damrosch's program, Dixon's music appreciation hour focused exclusively on classical music.[122] Unlike Damrosch, however, Dixon and other mid-century conductors made frequent comparisons between classical music and popular music genres. Conductors of children and youth concerts often held classical music up as just as valuable as popular music, making a case among other forms of entertainment competing for young people's time. This tone is different from that in the early-twentieth century because, while it identifies classical music as valuable, it also recognizes the value of popular music.[123]

Leonard Bernstein's fan mail reveals how young people themselves entered the debate, as I discuss in the following section. In shaping their identities through their distinctions and interests, teenagers often became advocates for classical music's elevated status. They used their preferences for classical music to differentiate themselves from their peers. Indeed, teenagers taking their identity formation into their own hands often used the assumed cultural superiority

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[121] "Symphony of the New World: Manhattan orchestra provides training for talented of all races," *Ebony Magazine*, November 1966, 39-42.

[122] Jones, *Dean Dixon*, 24-5. Materials from Dixon's later children's concerts demonstrate further likenesses to the *Music Appreciation Hour*. Dixon developed a practice of printing double-sided programs for his children's concerts. The front of the program was traditional, listing the names of the works and their composers, but the real fun began when young audience members flipped to the back of the program. Here, they would find a list of questions for them to ponder and answer throughout the concert. These questions bear much similarity to those in the *Music Appreciation Hour* student workbooks. In fact, Dixon's files on "Teaching," held at the New York Public Library's Schomburg Center, include a 1931-32 *Music Appreciation Hour* instructor's manual with Dixon's name and the year 1936 written on the front page.

[123] Michael Denning's pivotal work offers further insights for the relationship between cultural forms, value, and class within the US during this time period. Michael Denning, *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Verso, 1996).

of classical music to elevate themselves over others in their estimation. Not all classical music-enthusiast teens disparaged popular music or their peers' musical tastes. Their letters do show, however, that popular music was now an influence to be reckoned with, which they did by both directly and indirectly championing "good music." Varied articulations of "good music" show aesthetic value in flux, but with classical music strongly defended.

Teenagers, Terminology, and *Young People's Concerts* at the Mid-Century

Around the time that Dixon was developing his children's concerts with the American Youth Orchestra in the 1940s, another aspiring conductor entered the New York City scene. Leonard Bernstein made his New York conducting debut on March 30, 1943, which, by August of the same year, led to his appointment as the New York Philharmonic Orchestra's assistant conductor.[124] In 1945, he became the orchestra's music director and took the spotlight as America's favorite celebrity conductor. That spotlight grew even brighter when he began conducting the nationally televised and widely acclaimed *Young People's Concerts* (YPCs) in 1958. Dixon's and Bernstein's paths directly crossed in 1971, when Dixon guest conducted a YPC in Bernstein's place.

But as Bernstein rose to fame in the 1940s as the first US-born conductor of the nation's most prestigious orchestra, Dixon was not similarly embraced. Musicologist Alicia Kopfstein-Penk writes that Bernstein noticed the discrimination and "tried to help the young black conductor Dean Dixon find a position" in the United States—although it is notable that Dixon was three years older than Bernstein. [125] Rather than being held up as a US-born conductor of an

[124] Humphrey Burton, *Leonard Bernstein* (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 106-110.

[125] Kopfstein-Penk, *Young People's Concerts*, 115.

American orchestra like Bernstein was, Dixon took his children's concert programming and US roots to Europe, which, according to Dixon, was more accepting of a Black conductor directing an orchestra of white musicians. Many scholars look to Bernstein's New York Philharmonic appointment as a sign of progress in US culture because he was American, but it came at the same time as a similarly pedigreed conductor was cast out for his race rather than championed for his nationality. Although Dixon used similar methods to as on the MAH, audiences heard Bernstein's children's concerts, rather than Dixon's or the many other children's concert series popping up around this time, as Damrosch's legacy.

Beginning sixteen years after the MAH's final season in 1941–42, audiences of Leonard Bernstein's YPCs (1958–72) quickly traced their lineage to Damrosch's program. Early on, viewers pointed to Bernstein as "the new Papa Damrosch."[126] However, unlike the MAH, the YPCs were originally broadcast on Saturdays, and in later years aired on weekday primetime and Sunday afternoons—notably, it did not air at a time when students were in school. Nor did it distribute teaching materials to classrooms. However, Bernstein's extensive collection of fan mail reveals that parents often watched with their children and that schoolteachers still brought YPCs into the classroom by assigning weekend viewing homework. Homework assignments often culminated in written reports and even kindergarten class coloring projects. After the CBS television broadcasts concluded in 1972, video and more recently DVD boxsets have made the YPCs accessible to decades of children—I often meet adults who fondly remember watching and attending.[127] Much like Damrosch, Bernstein frequently referenced the great masters and

[126] Armin Beck, fan mail letter to Leonard Bernstein, Leonard Bernstein Collection: Box 393, Folder 2, Music Division, LOC.

[127] Musicologist Carol Oja taught a Fall 2017 course at Harvard University that took up the methodology of interviewing adults who had attended YPCs as children. See Sasha Barish, "Feeling the Bern(stein)," Harvard Arts Blog, February 7, 2018, https://ofa.fas.harvard.edu/blog/Leonard-Bernstein-at-100-at-Harvard.

geniuses, but he actually worked against the idea that "good music" exclusively connotes classical music.

From the first season of the television series, Bernstein demonstrated an educational tone on the cusp of 1960s-era multiculturalism, which was significantly moving away from that of cultural uplift. In his opening remarks of the January 24, 1959 broadcast "What is Classical Music?" Bernstein explicitly rejects the use of "good music."

> You see, everybody thinks he knows what classical music is: just any music that isn't jazz, like a Stan Kenton arrangement; or a popular song, like 'I Can't Give You Anything but Love,' baby, or folk music, like an African war dance, or 'Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star.' But that isn't what classical music means at all. People use this word to describe music that isn't jazz or popular songs or folk music, just because there isn't any other word that seems to describe it better. All the other words that are used are just as wrong, like 'good' music for instance. You've all heard people say 'I just love good music'—meaning that they love Handel instead of Spike Jones. Well, you know what they mean, but after all, isn't there such a thing as good jazz, or a good popular song? So you can't use the word good to describe the difference. There's good Handel and good Spike Jones; and so we'll have to forget that word.[128]

Bernstein points out the cultural assumption at play in the use of "good music," in that audiences conflate "good music" with classical music like Handel. Without criticizing its elitism too explicitly, he subtly explains the genre hierarchy its use implies: "isn't there such a thing as good jazz, or a good popular song?" He urges his audience to help him figure out how to articulate difference without articulating hierarchy. Bernstein goes on to question other phrases used to describe classical music as well as the merits of "classical music" itself as a genre label. He even invites his young listeners to make their own suggestions.

[128] Leonard Bernstein, Young People's Concerts Scripts: What is Classical Music? typescript with emendations in red blue & black pencil, Leonard Bernstein Collection: Box 105, Folder 6, Music Division, LOC; "What is Classical Music?" on Disc 2 of *Leonard Bernstein's Young People's Concerts with the New York Philharmonic*, DVD, directed by Roger Englander (West Long Branch: Kultur, 2005).

> Then people use the word 'serious' music when they mean Handel or Beethoven, but there again, there's some jazz that's very serious, and heavens—what's more serious than an African war dance when the kettle is boiling; so that word's no good either.
>
> Some people use the word high-brow, which mean that only very smart, well-educated people can dig it, but we know that's wrong because we all know a lot of people who aren't exactly Einsteins who dig Beethoven the most.
>
> Well, what about the word 'art' music. There's a word that a lot of people use to try to describe the difference between Beethoven and Dave Brubeck, let's say. That's no good either, because just as many other people think that jazz is also an art—which indeed it is. And if we try to use the word symphony music—well, that leaves out all the music written for piano solo and violin solo and string quartette; and certainly all that's supposed to be is classical music. Maybe the best word invented so far is, of all things, 'long-hair,' because it was made up by jazz musicians themselves to nail down all the kinds of music that aren't properly theirs. But we've all seen enough jazz musicians who have long hair on their own heads, so I guess even that word won't do. Well, since all these words are wrong, let's try to find one that's right by finding out first, what the real difference is between the different kinds of music.[129]

Following his rejections of "classical" music and "good" music, Bernstein casts out "serious," "art," "high-brow," "symphony," and "long-hair" music as also inadequate. Again, his criticisms show his awareness of the cultural hierarchies at play in using these terms without outright calling them elitist or exclusionary. He is straightforward about how these terms map onto different genres, with his frequent references to jazz and popular music and his wide sweeping references to folk music from Africa. He is most explicit in his criticism of "high-brow" for its assumption of intellectual superiority, which he undercuts with a jab at Beethoven fans. But, by using the white musicians Stan Kenton and Dave Brubeck to embody jazz, his underlying message about the racial politics of terms is ambiguous.[130] On the one hand, it encourages the dissociation between genre and essentialist pairings with groups of people. Thus, it breaks with

[129] Ibid.

[130] In fact, Bernstein more explicitly articulates a distinction between jazz and its associations with Black American musicians and culture in "What is American Music?" discussed in depth in this dissertation in Chapter 3.

the argument that ranking genre involves ranking people. On the other hand, it takes away the possibility that, in criticizing terms with elitist connotations for classical music, he could also be criticizing the racist assumptions of their conflations with white culture. Bernstein goes on to label classical music as exact music because of its detailed system of notation and clarifies that, actually, classical music only refers to exact music of the Classical Period. The remainder of the program highlights the music of Bach, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, which were, according to Bernstein, the Classical Period's great masters.

Bernstein's move away from "good music" and other phrases like "high-brow" and "serious" music to describe classical music might seem like evidence of significant change at the mid-century. Indeed, Bernstein scholars have long championed him for his liberalizing and popularizing approach to US classical music culture. Previous scholarship positions Bernstein as a major contributor the popularization of classical music and the expansion of its accessibility in the United States of the postwar era.[131] For example, Bernstein's contributions to Broadway blurred genre hierarchies and allowed him to support anti-racist agendas through artistic collaboration.[132] He also supported leftist, anti-fascist, and pro-civil rights causes.[133] The YPCs have been held up as a particular triumph for, as Kopfstein-Penk has argued, Bernstein made a conscious effort to program performers of diverse identities and acknowledge the value of

[131] Karene Esther Grad, "When High Culture Became Popular Culture: Classical Music in Postwar America, 1945-1965," PhD Dissertation, Yale University, 2006.

[132] Carol J. Oja, *Bernstein Meets Broadway: Collaborative Art in a Time of War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[133] Sarah B. McCall, "The Musical Fallout of Political Activism: Government Investigations of Musicians in the United States, 1930-1960," PhD dissertation, University of North Texas, 1993.

multiple musical genres. As such, there is considerable evidence to show how Bernstein personally worked against hierarchies in music, human rights, and culture.[134]

Young people, however, offer a different perspective. From the beginning of the YPCs in 1958, young people themselves employed the language of good music and cultural hierarchy. Sixteen-year-old Bonnie Callahan, for example, thanked Bernstein for his broadcast on behalf of "kids who don't have any one to take them to hear good music or never have a chance to hear classical and semi classical in their homes. You in your own way have opened up a new world to them. And not only to children, but also to teen-agers [sic] who never hear good music because the stations don't play it. All I can say is thanks and please for our coming generation keep up the good work."[135] The tendency of classical music-enthusiast teenagers thanking Bernstein for educating their peers is common in fan mail letters, showing how they tied musical distinction to the important phase in their identity formation. One satisfied viewer writes, "Being a high school girl myself…I know exactly what you're talking about (I hope a few of my music teachers were watching the program!)…It is so gratifying to know that in this very day and age of rock 'n' roll and 'sputniks,' there is someone like you around, willing to teach us, the younger generation, the true beauty and the enriching experiences fine music can give you."[136] She defines herself against the derogatory Cold War-era and popular culture categories she mentions.

Responses to the January 24, 1959 "What is Classical Music?" program specifically show discrepancies between Bernstein's ideas and those of his audience members. Adults in particular

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[134] For further reference, see Paul R. Laird and Hsun Lin, *Leonard Bernstein: A Research and Information Guide Second Edition* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

[135] Bonnie Callahan, fan mail letter to Leonard Bernstein, Leonard Bernstein Collection: Box 393, Folder 3, Music Division, LOC.

[136] M. Berger, fan mail letter to Leonard Bernstein, Leonard Bernstein Collection: Box 393, Folder 2, Music Division, LOC.

continued to use "good" music in place of classical (which is still, of course, an unfitting phrase for the several reasons Bernstein pointed out) even when mentioning this program. When Gustaf Freden wrote to Bernstein on January 26, 1959 about viewing the program with his wife, he "agreed" with Bernstein's assumed mission to "Expose our children and youth to 'good music' and explain it to them, and they will learn to like it…As a retired psychology professor I know from experience the value of discussing good music with my students, and exposing them to it."[137] In using the "good music" phrase, Freden carries over the music appreciation movement's cultural implications. He echoes Damrosch's sentiment that children must be guided to liking classical music. He also alludes to its healthful benefits because of his "experience" in psychology and mentorship. Another adult carries the baggage of uplift in his use of the phrase, writing on January 24, "Let me congratulate you and the New York Philharmonic for this tremendous service you are giving on behalf of good music…Your efforts should go very far in raising the musical tastes of American youth."[138]

In contrast to concrete assertions, other audience responses show the flexible formations of ideas about genre and value. Fourteen-year-old Diana Star King wrote on January 27, "Up until a few weeks ago I sincerely thought that the only good music was jazz or rock and roll. Then one Saturday morning I casually turned on the television set…My parents feel I have finally awakened to what good music really is, but I feel that this is not totally true. I had listened to symphonies etc. before but I never enjoyed them. I think it is through you, the way you explain the music and tell how it works, in the gentle easy way you use that I have finally

[137] Gustaf Freden, fan mail letter to Leonard Bernstein, Leonard Bernstein Collection: Box 397, Folder 6, Music Division, LOC.

[138] Gerald H. Gilbert, fan mail letter to Leonard Bernstein, Leonard Bernstein Collection: Box 397, Folder 7, Music Division, LOC.

discovered good music. I am going to continue to watch you, and I am sure that I will grow to understand music better."[139] King's words show her variable understanding of good music. In reference to jazz and rock and roll, King seems to define "good music" as applicable to multiple genres of music. However, by the end of her statement, she admits to having "finally discovered good music," where good music refers exclusively to listening to "symphonies etc" of the classical music tradition. The transformation leading to her discovery was not due to the music itself. Rather, it was Bernstein. This makes the timing of her letter following the January 24 broadcast in which Bernstein rejects the use of "good music" especially intriguing. Perhaps King stepped out of the television room during a portion of the broadcast. Either way, it is clear that she hears mixed messages from the adults—her parents and Bernstein—trying to influence her ideas about music.

King's letter shows her process of working out those different influences and situating herself in relation to them. Other young women also reveal how their interest in classical music relates to their age and peers. Marie Boynorski wrote on January 25, 1959, "I am fifteen years old, and as you might assume, I 'dig' rock 'n' roll 'the most.' However, I have been fortunate enough to have a music teacher who has instilled in me a great love for the finer things in life."[140] College student Maura Browne explains that she and her friends have been watching the YPCs together. Referring to classical music, they "sorely regret the length of time it took us to discover this startling expression of beauty."[141] King, Boynorski, and Browne discuss their

[139] Diana Star King, fan mail letter to Leonard Bernstein, Leonard Bernstein Collection: Box 397, Folder 10, Music Division, LOC.

[140] Marie Boynorski, fan mail letter to Leonard Bernstein, Leonard Bernstein Collection: Box 397, Folder 2, Music Division, LOC.

[141] Maura Browne, fan mail letter to Leonard Bernstein, Leonard Bernstein Collection: Box 397, Folder 2, Music Division, LOC.

interest in classical music as a choice in the face of many other musics' influences. Boynorski's articulation of classical music as one of "the finer things in life" show how hierarchy implicates itself in the values behind such a choice.

While some examples show disconnect with Bernstein's words and viewers' responses, a sizable volume attentively responded to Bernstein's question about alternate words for "classical" music. Robin Andrews and his seventh-grade class came up with a robust list of terms: "non-deviated, standard, precise, developed, conventional, correct, well-formed, explicit, letter-perfect, cultural, perfect, technical," and "music of the masters."[142] Many other suggestions show the interesting relationship between the idea of classical music's label as flexible but classical music itself as inflexible. The terms suggested by youth as young as nine-years-old and adults are listed below. Most of the suggestions were unique. Words with numbers following indicate the number of times the word appeared in independent letters.[143]

[142] Robin Andrews, fan mail letter to Leonard Bernstein, Leonard Bernstein Collection: Box 397, Folder 1, Music Division, LOC.

[143] List compiled by author based on fan mail from Boxes 397 and 398 in Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, LOC.

Alternate words suggested for "classical" music in response to the "What is Classical Music?" *Young People's Concert* broadcast on January 24, 1959:

Non-deviated
Standard
Precise (2)
Developed
Conventional
Correct
Well-formed
Explicit (2)
Letter-perfect
Cultural
Perfect (3)
Technical
Music of the masters
Composed
Great
Masterful
Culturized
Formal
Exact symphonic
Prescript
Elegant
Finished
Complete
Terminated
Totale
Regulated
Agelessness
Purity of musical proportion
Objectiveness
Functionality
Creative form of tonal harmony
Set
Very special
Popular
Well-liked

Several of these suggestions follow Bernstein's notion that classical music differentiates itself from other genres based on its compositional construction. Indeed, the most popular words ("precise," "explicit," and "perfect") are similar in definition to Bernstein's call for "exact" music. In addition to the power of suggestion, this list also shows the power of value. How can

words such as “great,” “masterful,” “cultural,” “culturized” (a combination of civilized and cultured), and “developed” only refer to music of the Western classical tradition? Are other kinds of music not masterful or culturized? Robin Andrews’ seventh-grade class listed both “perfect” and “music of the masters.” Together, these responses show a lack of criticism of the merits of classical music. If it is perfect, there is nothing wrong with it. Those who have achieved mastery in music do not write jazz or rock and roll. They write classical music.

Such an approach to classical music reinforces the invisibility of its constructed cultural value. It also harkens back to the tone of the music appreciation movement that “music” means classical music and that classical music is unquestionably good for children. Bernstein was on trend as “good music” became less frequently used to refer to classical music in the second half of the twentieth century. But the phrases, and more importantly the ideologies, that replaced it still inscribed hierarchies of value. More recent discourse shows how classical music advocates not only justified the ways that classical music is good for children, but also attempted to prove its benefits through pseudo-scientific research about its effects on behavior, learning, and intelligence. Claiming that classical music makes kids smarter became the new way of holding up “the music of the masters” above all else.[144]

Sustaining Hierarchy Through the Mozart Effect

As the “good music” phrase started to fall out of vogue, scientific research came to the fore. Bernstein was still conducting YPCs when French physician and psychologist Alfred Tomatis began the research that led to his theorization of the Mozart effect. Eventually, the

[144] Robin Andrews, fan mail letter to Leonard Bernstein, Leonard Bernstein Collection: Box 397, Folder 1, Music Division, LOC.

Mozart effect would connote the belief that listening to classical music, and particularly music by the composer Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, increases one's intelligence, but this belief was not Tomatis's original conclusion. Tomatis did, however, lay its groundwork by exceptionalizing Mozart's music in scientific research producing positive cognitive responses. During the 1960s, Tomatis experimented with music and sound played for fetuses in their mother's wombs, concluding that two sounds had the most positive developmental effects: the voice of the child's mother and the music of Mozart.[145] He also experimented with several other composers' music in his research to develop the electronic ear, a technology serving a number of purposes—from treating children with autism to improving opera singers' vocal technique.[146] Mozart's music, he found, was most suited to his purposes.[147] In 1991, he published *Pourquoi Mozart* [Why Mozart?] to explain his scientific (clearly also wrapped up in personal) preference specifically for Mozart's music. He uses evidence from analysis of Mozart's rhythmic tendencies to reverence for Mozart's, as he claims, direct connection to the cosmos.[148] He does not ignore Mozart's competition at the peak of the classical music canon, though, devoting a chapter each to justify, "Why Not Beethoven? and "Why Not Bach?"[149]

Subsequent scientific studies following Tomatis's findings manifested the popular belief that listening to Mozart's music directly increases intelligence. Most famously, neurologists Frances H. Rauscher, Gordon L. Shaw, and Katherine N. Ky found in 1993 that the college

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[145] Campbell, *The Mozart Effect for Children*, 11.

[146] Alfred A. Tomatis, trans. Roberta Prada and Pierre Sollier, *The Ear and the Voice* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2005), 79; "History," accessed October 30, 2018, The Tomatis® Method, https://www.tomatis.com/en/history.

[147] Roberta Prada, "To the Reader" opening in Tomatis, *The Ear and the Voice*, x.

[148] Paraphrased translation by author. Alfred A. Tomatis, *Pourquoi Mozart?* (Paris: Hachette, 1991), 35-60, 71-82.

[149] Ibid., 83, 103.

students who served as their research participants scored better on standardized tests after listening to music by Mozart compared to listening to taped relaxation instructions or silence. [150] According to their study, they chose Mozart's music because he was composing by age four and because previous researchers had found cognitive processing differences between his music and that of Schoenberg.[151] While their experiment did not level Mozart against any other composers or even any other musical examples, by titling their article, "Listening to Mozart Enhances Spatial-Temporal Reasoning: Towards a Neurophysiological Basis," they suggested the exceptionalism so passionately defended by Tomatis. Researchers positing and claiming to prove the Mozart effect, which at this point did not have a coherent definition, met intense controversy, and the community of cognitive scientists and psychologists have largely debunked the conclusion that Mozart's music, in particular, increases intelligence.[152]

Despite the spurious evidence, in 1997, the Mozart effect took hold in US culture. That year, music and sound therapist Don Campbell published the first of his bestselling books from his trademarked Mozart Effect® enterprise.[153] He stood behind the Rauscher, Shaw, and Ky research study and further bolstered his evidence by citing Tomatis's research as well as his personal meetings with Tomatis.[154] Campbell opens the book, aimed at adult and general audiences, by describing how he used sound healing to cure a life-threatening blood clot in his

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[150] Frances H. Rauscher, Gordon L. Shaw and Katherine N. Ky, "Music and Spatial Task Performance," *Nature* (1993): 45.

[151] Ibid., 46.

[152] Adrian Bangerter and Chip Heath, "The Mozart Effect: Tracking the Evolution of a Scientific Legend," *British Journal of Social Psychology* (2004): 605-23; J. Newman et al., "An Experimental Test of "'he Mozart Effect': Does Listening to his Music Improve Spatial Ability?" *Perceptual and Motor Skills* (1995): 1379-87.

[153] "The Mozart Effect®," The Mozart Effect® Resource Center, last accessed October 30, 2018, https://www.mozarteffect.com; Don Campbell, *The Mozart Effect: Tapping the Power of Music to Heal the Body, Strengthen the Mind, and Unlock the Creative Spirit* (New York: Avon Books, 1997).

[154] Campbell, *The Mozart Effect*, 15; Campbell, *The Mozart Effect for Children*, 15.

brain.[155] He promises readers that they, too, can unleash the mental and healing benefits of music by following his prescriptive instructions. At this time, he defined the Mozart Effect as "the enhanced effects of music—especially Mozart and his contemporaries—on creativity, learning, health, and healing."[156] This book has since been translated into over twenty languages, and the Mozart effect's audience and impact continued to grow.

Following the success of his book for adult and general audiences, Campbell put out a second book, this time specifically for parents fostering their child's development. In *The Mozart Effect for Children*, Campbell lays out chapters each devoted to a different stage of child development ranging from pre-birth to age ten. He frequently claims that music in general has developmental benefits, but he muses why Mozart's music shines above the rest, "Obviously, there are other musicians of value, such as Handel, Haydn, Beethoven, and many more. But Mozart's music has an impact far greater than Bach's . . . he embodies, in his music and in his own legendary exuberance, the vividness and personal brilliance we all hope to achieve at least now and then."[157] Here, Campbell makes the most of Mozart's history as a child prodigy by beginning each chapter with a narrative history of Mozart's life at these different stages. For example, as Campbell writes in his opening to chapter two, "Mozart Listened to Mozart: First Melodies of Life (Pre-Birth Through Birth),"

> In the beginning, there was rhythm. The steady pulse of blood moving through the mother's body, the ebb and flow of her breath, the belly's deep, bass rumbles, the liquid movements inside the womb, and in the foreground, nearly drowning out the rest, the relentless galop of the maternal heartbeat…one day, a new sound emerged: the sharp, high-pitched trill of a women's laughter…Then…musical vibration pierced the wall of the uterus. The sound was made by a violin, and it

[155]Campbell, *The Mozart Effect*, 3-11.

[156] Ibid., 14.

[157] Campbell, *The Mozart Effect for Children*, 12-13.

> created an electrifying vibration, a sense of something completely new…The baby growing inside this womb would emerge in 1756 to become Johannes Chrysostomus Wolfgangus Theophilus Mozart—a child prodigy whose unique genius created some of the most inspiring music ever written…Unable to wait until his son exited the womb before beginning to instruct him, Papa [Leopold] Mozart created the *Toy Symphony* (originally attributed to Haydn) while his wife was pregnant…It is impossible to believe, from what we now know about the effect of music on the developing brain, that the sharp, clear, pleasingly complex melodies they created failed to play a part in encoding young Wolfgang's nervous system with the transcendent, universal patterns and rhythms of nature…It is a valid intuition on which you, too, can rely to help your own developing child fulfill her greatest destiny.[158]

Campbell's Biblical opening phrase is emblematic of his sacralizing rhetoric throughout the book, as is his encouragement of parents to imagine their child in the place of Mozart himself. In the moment that he seems to denaturalize Mozart's musical talents as nurtured by his parents, he sweeps in to remind his readers of the composer's prodigal and unattainable gift. He urges his readers to be reverent, realistic, and ambitious. Their child will not become Mozart, but by channeling Mozart's power through Campbell's simple instructions, the child can get closer to his sophistication. Campbell is careful to add notes and anecdotes about the values of other genres of music, but his loyalties are unmistakable. He further capitalizes on parent's wish for their children to reach the "personal brilliance" of Mozart by ending each chapter with a list of Mozart compositions most appropriate to listen to for the child's age.

The reverent tone towards Mozart's life and his music echoes the rhetoric of good music espoused by MAH and YPCs audiences, showing the persistence of the sacralization of classical music composers and their music into the late-twentieth and early-twenty-first century. But the purposes of such reverence were shifting. While he included a few examples of music's powerful effects in classrooms and group education settings, Campbell was not arguing for education

[158] Ibid., 17-19.

reform. Aimed at parents, *The Mozart Effect for Children* offers instructions for improving *individual* children's achievement through classical music listening, not those in community.

During the late 1980s, contemporary to the developing Mozart effect research, a new genre of children's media emerged dubbed "edutainment." Wittily encompassing both entertainment and educational purposes, edutainment products for children negotiated between institutional structures of schooling and commercial media.[159] As Mizuko Ito has traced in his studies on computer software programs for children, edutainment particularly appeals to middle class families and "their desire for wholesome, creative, and interactive play for their children that also gives them a leg-up on subjects that will be covered in school."[160]

Like the previous examples of the MAH and the YPCs presenting high-brow classical music on the low-brow media of the radio and television, respectively, edutainment brokered an otherwise dichotomous relationship between recreation, associated with children's desires for themselves, and intellectual achievement, associated with adults' desires for their children. The idea of parents buying into edutainment products to give their children a "leg-up" shows the concern among parents to make their children competitive with others. Notably, having a "leg-up" connotes an unequal relation with others, where, for example, the child listening to Mozart has a deliberate advantage over her peers.

Campbell's *Mozart Effect* publications further fed into parents' desires for edutainment as they grew into a trademarked enterprise, The Mozart Effect®. As Gary McPherson and Solange Glasser wrote in a 2015 Oxford University Press blog on marketing the Mozart effect, "The big winner from a marketing perspective is without doubt Don Campbell, who trademarked a set of

[159] Mizuko Ito, "Engineering Play: Children's Software and the Cultural Politics of Edutainment," *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 27 (2006): 142.

[160] Ibid., 145.

commercial recordings and related material he billed as not only increasing intelligence and mental development, but also enhancing 'deep rest and rejuvenation' and 'creativity and imagination.'"[161] Indeed, The Mozart Effect Resource Centre® is a well-fashioned website describing Campbell's version of the Mozart effect with quick clicks to an online store full of books, CDs, and digital audio downloads.

The 2018 website boasts a revised definition of the Mozart Effect® as, "an inclusive term signifying the transformational powers of music in health, education, and well-being."[162] Possibly responding to cultural tensions of promoting a single white, European, male's music as the key to universal personal betterment, newest products include recordings that use Native American traditional music for healing. The take-away that Mozart's music is the most effective for intellectual pursuits, however, is still clear and consistent throughout commercial products. For example, "The Mozart Effect Volume 1: Strengthen the Mind—Music for Intelligence and Learning" features a blonde teenage girl wearing glasses and gazing down thoughtfully as she listens to music, in this case an album of exclusively Mozart compositions, digitally transmitted through clean white headphones hooked up to her iPad. "The Mozart Effect: Music for Children Volume 1 –Tune Up Your Mind" also features only Mozart's music as does "The Mozart Effect Volume 4: Focus and Clarity—Music for Projects and Study" and "The Mozart Effect: Music for Newborns—A Bright Beginning." All of these album covers feature clean, alert, white children. One CD cover features a grade-school-aged Asian girl smiling with her dog and another a beautiful Asian woman receiving a relaxing massage. Otherwise, scrolling through the pages of

[161] Gary McPherson and Solange Glasser, "Marketing Mozart," *Oxford University Press Blog*, October 30, 2015, https://blog.oup.com/2015/10/mozart-effect-myth-childhood-development/.

[162] "Mozart Effect® Mission," The Mozart Effect® Resource Center, last accessed October 30, 2018, http://www.mozarteffect.com/about_us.html.

the Mozart Effect®'s online store reinforces the assumed whiteness of classical music culture, both in its prioritization of Mozart's music and its marketing of his music through mentally-stimulated white bodies.

Marketing Mozart for the benefit of children proved strategically effective in the context of neoliberal reevaluations of childhood and education. A neoliberal economy values children not for their present, lived experiences and subjectivities, but rather for their future contributions to the labor market as workers. Accordingly, investing in children—whether the investors are parents purchasing Mozart Effect products or private capitalists funding education programs—is an investment in the continuation of this system.[163] Delineating and measuring children's future contributions becomes necessary to secure, justify, and guarantee return on investments made on their behalf. Asserting measurable and data-driven impacts on children's intellect, Mozart effect products deliver satisfactory results to investors wrapped in the gilded packaging of supporting creativity, freedom, and expression. Indeed, this alluring packaging surrounds many music and arts initiatives promising to make children smarter.

The pressures of measurability in neoliberal education settings paired with the pressure of securing funding for fragile music programs make it difficult for music educators to avoid weighing in on whether music and classical music will make children smarter. Music educator John Vitale explains in his 2011 article, "Music Makes You Smarter: A New Paradigm for Music Education?" that "As a former elementary and secondary school music teacher, the term 'music makes you smarter' repeatedly emerged in casual and professional conversations with colleagues, parents and students. Over the years, it was also readily apparent in approximately two thirds of these conversations that increased intelligence deriving from musical study

[163] Julian Gill-Peterson, "The Value of the Future: The Child as Human Capital and the Neoliberal Labor of Race," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 43, no. 1/2 (Spring/Summer 2015), 181-196.

principally focused on math and science benefits."[164] Vitale's findings are unsurprising in a neoliberal education context which prioritizes learning growth and curriculum standards through the measurable skills of math and, additionally, literacy.[165]

Music educators, including Vitale, have become frustrated in this context because music is not valued as an end in itself or interpreted as a form of intelligence. Indeed, Vitale found that administrators, parents, and children were much more likely than music educators to believe that music makes you smarter. Music educators, he reported, were actually "vehemently opposed" to funding structures that only or even primarily value music for its benefits to science and math. Yet, Vitale also reports on music educators supporting the claim that music makes you smarter.

> *Larry*: If the school board wants to put more funding into music programs for these reasons [improved math and science scores], then all music teachers should be willing to take the funding; otherwise, our programs will die.
>
> *Derek*: Music teachers should take whatever funding they can regardless of what it is for.
>
> *Tracy*: Most music teachers I know, including myself, are always complaining about lack of money, lack of instruments…if they [the Board] want to give me more money to teach music because kids will improve in math and English then, so be it, I will take the money.[166]

Vitale's findings show how, under the pressure of precarious funding for music programs, music educators will strategically deploy links between capital value and intellectual measurability—assessed through science, math, and reading skills—even if they do not actually believe in, or

[164] John L. Vitale, "Music Makes You Smarter: A New Paradigm for Music Education? Perceptions and Perspectives from Four Groups of Elementary Education Stakeholders," *Canadian Journal of Education/Revue Canadienne de l'éducation* 34 (2011): 319.

[165] Debbie Sonu and Jeremy Benson, "The Quasi-Human Child: How Normative Conceptions of Childhood Enabled Neoliberal School Reform in the United States," *Curriculum Inquiry* 46 (2016): 239.

[166] Vitale, "Music Makes You Smarter," 334.

value, the connections. While unintended, this perpetuates the controversial findings of the Mozart effect and its links to specifically classical music.

While Vitale's research did not specify the belief that *classical* music makes you smarter, music education's foundation in Western classical music and funding campaigns for music programming makes the genre-bias in this belief more apparent. This chapter's opening example of the "Raisin Brahms" commercial also echoes Mozart Effect research and products, especially those geared for children, in the tendency to foreground eighteenth- and nineteenth-century, dead, white, male, European composers of the classical music tradition. When music education effectively means classical music education, when classical music effectively means exclusively dead, white, European, males, and when classical music effectively means superior music, young people in the United States learn that classical music is something they should appreciate and worship, but not contribute to or criticize. But, as later chapters in this dissertation explore, this need not be so.

Conclusion

And classical music is long, long gone from the television networks that once upon a time maintained their own symphony orchestras and broadcast such fare as Leonard Bernstein's Young People's Concerts—in prime time, no less.

—Lawrence Kramer, *Why Classical Music Still Matters*, 2007

Kramer romanticizes a time when US society took the esteemed value of classical music literacy for granted, a time when cultural literates could chuckle together at insider jokes about Beethoven, Bach, and Brahms. But was there ever a time when classical music culture in the United States did not feel that it had to justify itself? This chapter shows how adults have

mapped their anxieties about classical music's health in the United States onto the well-being, moral standards, health, and intellect of children throughout the past century.[167]

By contrast, writer Elizabeth Rusch's 2011 children's book *For the Love of Music: The Remarkable Story of Maria Anna Mozart* offers an example of how children's media can critique the structural oppressions of classical music and disentangle it from cultural hierarchy without advocating for its eradication. Rusch encourages young readers to cultivate, like Maria Anna, a love of music. The story centers on the child prodigy, Maria Anna Mozart, who tours around Europe as one of its finest pianists with her brother, Wolfgang. One day, Wolfgang leaves home to perform in Italy but Maria Anna stays home to sew with her mother. Even though her musical career is stunted by the sexist gender expectations of eighteenth-century Europe, Maria Anna continues to play music in her home for the rest of her life.[168] The book introduces children to classical music alongside the forces of privilege and oppression that made Wolfgang one of the leading composers of the canon while his sister stayed at home. *For the Love of Music* begs the question, what could have been of Maria Anna? What if, when faced with Mozart effect research and products we were asking, which Mozart? Indeed, this dissertation continues by posing similar questions about composers, identity, and classical music to children themselves.

[167] See also Molly M. Breckling, "Narrative Strategies in Gustav Mahler's Balladic 'Wunderhorn' Lieder" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2010).

[168] Elizabeth Rusch, *For the Love of Music: The Remarkable Story of Maria Anna Mozart*, illus. Lou Fancher and Steve Johnson (New York: Tricycle Press, 2011).

CHAPTER 2:
Canonizing Concert Music for Children: Standards, Tokens, and Exceptions

From 18–21 October 1932, a debate erupted in the *New York Times* among three of the United States' leading orchestral conductors. Philadelphia Orchestra conductor Leopold Stokowski, New York Symphony conductor Walter Damrosch, and New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra conductor Ernest Schelling passionately contested which works of classical music were most appropriate—or most harmful—for children's audiences.

Their disagreements weighed whether or not to add modern works of music to canonic repertoire when programming orchestral concerts for children.[169] Stokowski began the debate. On October 18, the *New York Times* announced his plans to broadcast a series of Friday afternoon radio concerts with the Philadelphia Orchestra promoting modern music to school children.[170] The paper reported on Stokowski's public statement in which he declared it "difficult to give the 'hopeless' older generation 'new ideas and new impressions contrary to those already received'."[171] Rather, Stokowski placed stock in children's tastes. While he did not argue for the

[169] In a general sense, "modern" music refers to music by living composers that is in some way innovative or breaking with tradition. This debate arose specifically within the era of musical modernism, defined in the *Harvard Dictionary of Music* as, "The avant-garde musical aesthetics from the late 19th century to the mid-20th century. In compositional terms, there are several general traits common to much modernist music: a corrosion, or even refusal, of traditional harmonic and rhythmic organization; the use of unconventional instruments and sounds; and distortions of inherited musical forms." See "Modernism," in *The Harvard Dictionary of Music, 4th ed.*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), http://libproxy.lib.unc.edu/login?url=https://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/harvdictmusic/modernism/0?institutionId=1724.

[170] "Stokowski Seeks School Audiences: Wants Philadelphia Orchestra to Be Heard by Pupils in Ten Broadcasts," *New York Times*, October 18, 1932, 22.

[171] Ibid.

elimination of programming canonic works, he believed children could comprehend new works alongside "those already received."[172] Indeed, Stokowski's youth concerts from 1933 onward did not feature uniformly modern music, but rather programmed canonic works alongside one or two contemporary pieces by living composers.[173]

But to Damrosch, these "experiments," as he called them, warranted condemnation.[174] Two days later on October 20, a countering headline read, "Damrosch Assails Stokowski's Plan: Forcing Modernistic Music on 'Helpless Children' Would Be 'Criminal,' He Declares."[175] As the host of the nationally broadcast *Music Appreciation Hour* that had gained widespread popularity since its premiere in 1928, Damrosch wielded his position as the leading authority on US children's concert music to bolster his contrasting approach. Damrosch believed that because the vast majority of modernistic musical works would not become canonic classics, they were not worth children's attention. He advised that children should instead learn about classical music from works by composers who have already proven their influence through longevity in performance practice. Only these proven works, he explains, "should be used to build the foundation of [children's] knowledge. This is a pedagogic axiom."[176] While Damrosch was not a personal advocate of modernist music, he did not condemn its programming on regular concert programs, explaining, "Mr. Stokowski has devoted his fine orchestra to the production of many

[172] Ibid.

[173] "Leopold Stokowski Concerts—from 1933 to 1949," The Stokowski Legacy, last accessed December 31, 2019, https://www.stokowski.org/Stokowski_Concerts-1933-1949.htm.

[174] "Damrosch Assails Stokowski's Plan: Forcing Modernistic Music on 'Helpless Children' Would Be 'Criminal,' He Declares," *New York Times*, October 20, 1932, 24.

[175] Ibid.

[176] Ibid.

ultra-modernistic compositions and often to the great distress of many in his adult audiences. But that is a matter between him and them and if they encourage him[,] he is amply justified." Children, however, needed protection. "But to force these experiments on helpless children is criminal," he concludes.

Amidst the drama between Stokowski casting the older generation as "hopeless" and Damrosch casting children as "helpless," Ernest Schelling entered in the next day from a middle ground. Another authority on children's concerts, Schelling had begun the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra's Young People's Concerts in 1924, a series that would eventually be hosted by Leonard Bernstein.[177] A *New York Times* article published on October 21 summarized Schelling's view that children should hear old *and* new orchestral music. He argued that a "musical diet" should be well-balanced including both "a good foundation" through Damrosch's methods and "the ultra in music" through modernistic compositions favored by Stokowski.[178] Aside from his more placid tone, however, Schelling basically advocated for Stokowski's plan since Stokowski added in modern works without eliminating canonic ones.

While Stokowski's (and Schelling's) approach entrusted children to make up their own minds through exposure to a greater breadth of repertoire, by overall measures of longevity and influence, Damrosch's stance won out. Both Stokowski's and Damrosch's concert series for youth concluded in the early 1940s, but Damrosch's have been much better preserved in cultural memory and influence. Writing about Stokowski's program, music critic Steve Cohen regretfully admits in a 2012 article, "the unique Depression-era Youth Concert [Stokowski] launched in

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[177] "Ernest Schelling, Famed Pianist, Dies," *New York Times*, December 9, 1939, 15, https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1939/12/09/113083094.html?pageNumber=15; "Overview," New York Philharmonic, last accessed December 31, 2019, https://nyphil.org/about-us/history/overview.

[178] "Urges Pupils Hear Old and New Music: Schelling Differs With Both Damrosch and Stokowski on School Broadcasts," *New York Times*, October 21, 1932, 24.

1932 have largely been forgotten by history."[179] By contrast, the *Music Appreciation Hour* went on to be heralded as Damrosch's greatest achievement, to serve as a model for many subsequent music appreciation programs, and to be analyzed in musicological and music education scholarship.[180] Although Stokowski's youth concerts evidence the existence of a historical counterexample, children's concert music in the United States more often displays an exclusive version of the classical music canon in line with Damrosch's vision.

This chapter aims to historicize the idea that children should first learn the works by canonic composers deemed standard and traces the persistence of this idea into the twenty-first century. To this end, it incorporates analysis of examples from nearly a century of children's concert music repertoire. By exploring recent manifestations of the debate about programming old versus new works, it demonstrates that Stokowski, Damrosch, and Schelling's century-old argument remains pressing. For example, the popular multi-media work, *The Composer is Dead*, which premiered in 2006 as a performance piece and was published in 2009 as a children's book, illustrates that exclusivity in children's concert music has persisted. Through scrutiny of this and other examples, I suggest that exclusivity persists not only in terms of repertoire, but also in the race and gender of composers. Indeed, because of its history in high-society Europe and its structures of race, class, cultural, and gender privilege, the canon of standard composers overwhelmingly favors the contributions of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century white European

[179] Steve Cohen, "Stokowski's Forgotten Youth Concerts: The Maestro Who Listened to Teenagers," Broad Street Review, June 19, 2012, https://www.broadstreetreview.com/dance/stokowski_forgotten_youth_concerts#.

[180] Theodor W. Adorno, "Analytical Study of the NBC 'Music Appreciation Hour,'" Unpublished manuscript, 1938-40.,*The Musical Quarterly* 78 (1994): 325-377; Sondra Wieland Howe, "The NBC Music Appreciation Hour: Radio Broadcasts of Walter Damrosch, 1928-1942," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 51 (2003): 64-77; Donald Carl Meyer, "The NBC Symphony Orchestra," PhD Thesis, University of California, Davis, 1994.

men.[181] As such, I argue that the composers implicated in the "good foundation" of the canon mean that, even today, many US children do not see their race, cultural, or gender identities reflected in the composers that educational concerts, children's books, and posters most prominently display.

I also present evidence—the perspectives of children who consume educational media on classical music—that further nuances this argument. In particular, this chapter analyzes interviews with children responding to a twenty-first century example of educational programming, the North Carolina Symphony (NCS) Education Concerts, and it analyzes a discussion about composer posters among elementary school students at the Global Scholars Academy (GSA). Based on these conversations, I extend my argument to propose that children notice classical music culture's identity through the lens of exception. "Exception," as I interpret in my conversations among children, may refer to a composer who is unlike the others on a concert program—such as when a composer stands out for being the only woman or the only person-of-color on a concert program—or even unlike children themselves. I examine how this lens is informed by adults' curations of educational materials about composers but I ultimately give the most weight to children's own interpretations. Children sometimes articulate how an exceptional composer's status might align with social value or marginalization, but not always, such as when a composer stands out for having an unfamiliar hairstyle.

In broader cultural theory, the idea of exceptionalism has greater consequences than noticing unfamiliar hairstyles. These consequences are evident in regard to race, gender, class, ability, and other forms of perceived difference. For example, literary scholar Roberta Wolfson

[181] William Weber, "The History of the Musical Canon," in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicolas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 336-355; Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

writes on the consequences that Black men face when they become one of "a few token success stories" justifying "the systemic mistreatment of black people…The exceptional black figure, then, can be understood as a tokenized pawn of white America, permitted to enjoy success only insofar as such success reinforces the specious narrative that the United States has achieved racial equality in the post-civil rights era."[182] Similarly, when classical music materials for children do not adequately contextualize composers of "exception," these composers become tokenized examples that reinforce the acceptance of a predominantly white male canon.

The tokenization of marginalized composers in fact inscribes the value system that elevated the norm of white Western society instated in the classical music canon. Notably, exceptionalism works hand in hand with tokenism, particularly when exceptionalized figures come from identity groups that have been historically marginalized. Critical pedagogue bell hooks points out this manifestation in another site of the white Western canon, the English classroom, writing,

> What does it mean when a white female English professor is eager to include a work by Toni Morrison on the syllabus of her course but then teaches that work without ever making reference to race or ethnicity? I have heard individual white women "boast" about how they have shown students that black writers are "as good" as the white male canon then they do not call attention to race. Clearly, such pedagogy is not an interrogation of the biases conventional canons (if not all canons) establish, but yet another form of tokenism.[183]

By not mentioning race, by not contextualizing how the identity politics of race and gender have shaped "the white male canon," and by not "interrogating the biases of conventional canons (if not all canons)," hooks points out how this professor's strategy tokenizes and reinforces systemic

[182] Roberta Wolfson, "Race Leaders, Race Traitors, and the Necropolitics of Black Exceptionalism in Paul Beatty's Fiction," *American Literature* 91, no. 3 (September 2019): 620.

[183] bell hooks, *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 38-39.

inequalities of value. Representation of composers in classical music programs for children is thus closely linked with exceptionalism and tokenism.

In the context of a persistent privileging of canonic composers in classical music introductions to children, I turn my focus to two main sources: visual media and children's perspectives. I ask, for example, how does listening to children yield more nuanced understandings of children's concert music and the composers revered within it? How do children relate to the composers they see in workbooks and on posters in their music classrooms? How can focusing on childhood as a critical period in identity formation change the stakes of musicological discussions of identity and canonicity?

This chapter is structured to first demonstrate the normative and influential trends in children's concert programming before then describing and interpreting children's perspectives on classical music's representational identity politics. The first section, "*The Composer is Dead* Keeping the Canon Alive," shows the persistence of an exclusive canon of children's concert music in the twenty-first century exemplified by *The Composer is Dead*. Section two, "Historicizing Standards and Tokens on the *Music Appreciation Hour*" offers historical context about the canonization of children's concert music through study of the *Music Appreciation Hour* (MAH). In addition to analyzing Damrosch's preference for canonic works, this section also demonstrates how tokenizing composers-of-color has long contributed to the privileging of standard works maintaining an exclusive canon on children's concerts.

The third section, "Seeing Composers in North Carolina Symphony Education Concert Materials and on Posters" lays out the argument that children notice exceptional composers. This section draws on ethnographic research with students participating in the NCS Education Concerts and on participatory research with students at GSA. Specifically, it focuses on how

young people acknowledge and negotiate the relationship between their identities and the identities of those who are revered on the classical music stage. Such findings show how educational materials have the potential to equip children with critical tools for meaningfully interpreting contrasting representations of composers and their identities. It also shows that this potential is often unfulfilled.

The representational identity politics behind whether composers are situated as standards, tokens, or exceptions to the canon are critical in analyzing children's concert programming because, as each of the three sections of this chapter demonstrate, visual materials powerfully emphasize composers' likenesses to enforce their importance. Visual materials include supplemental educational media from picture books to posters and workbooks. The 2009 children's book version of *The Composer is Dead*, which makes the claim that "all" of the composers are dead, shows these "great" white men in vivid illustrations, enforcing the hegemonic identity and revered status of the composer most commonly associated with classical music culture. Its stock depiction of a composer is, furthermore, a white man dressed in eighteenth-century attire with a coifed and powdered white wig, composing in solitude at his desk.

Similarly, the MAH offers an extensive early example of supplementing concerts with visual materials. NBC radio, which produced and broadcast the MAH, released teacher manuals and four versions of student booklets each season for classroom use in preparation for, during, and in reflection on the school day radio concerts. These booklets, which targeted children in four age groups, depicted composers in portraits and cut-and-paste activities, showing the importance placed not on only knowing composers' names but also recognizing their likenesses. Moreover, the series for the oldest student age group of high school, college, and music club

students focused entirely on composers as opposed to other topics such as musical terminology or instrument knowledge.[184]

Additionally, NCS Education Concerts supplement young audience members' concert experience with educational workbooks that make composers visually prominent.[185] The NCS distributes workbooks for teachers and students to use in their classrooms prior to attending an Education Concert emphasizing works by eight predominately white male composers through photographs, portraits, and biographical descriptions. My fieldwork revealed that teachers sometimes combine NCS materials with their own classroom posters or read aloud biographical children's books to further display composers' identities.

In terms of repertoire, both the MAH and the NCS Education Concerts programmed primarily white eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European male composers, but with a few exceptions. Damrosch and his collaborators occasionally programmed composers-of-color and non-European composers, such as on "Dances of the New World" featuring US Black and white composers as well as Cuban composer Ignacio Cervantes. The NCS has maintained a similar balance on Education Concert programs in recent years. The 2017–2018 and the 2018–2019 seasons each featured canonic white male composers with one exception of *either* a composer-of-color *or* a woman.

The children I interviewed after their attendance at NCS Education Concerts did not explicitly criticize the Eurocentric canon of classical music composers, but they often admitted to

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[184] Instructor's Manuals for the *Music Appreciation Hour* from the 1930-31 Season through the 1940-41 Season, Damrosch-Blaine Collection: Box 15, Music Division, Library of Congress (LOC).

[185] Linda Good, Sarah Kronenwetter, Alexis Kagel and Andrea Perrone, *"What Makes Music Music?": 2017-2018 North Carolina Symphony Student and Teacher Handbook*, ed. Sarah Baron and Layla Dougani (North Carolina Symphony Society, Inc., 2017); Luke Arno, Kathy Hopkins, Leah Godfrey, and Jacqueline Isadore, *"What Makes Music Music?": 2018-2019 North Carolina Symphony Student and Teacher Handbook*, ed. Martin Sher, Luke Witchger, and Christa Wilson, North Carolina Symphony Society, Inc., 2018).

noticing a composer who stood out from the others. Some of their responses reflect contemporary thought on representation, which argues that children need to see successful figures who "look like them" in order to feel confident, empowered, and optimistic about their futures.[186] However, the children I spoke with also complicated this common assumption. For example, a fourth-grade girl, G, rejects that her favoritism for a woman composer has to do with their shared gender identity.[187] G explains that Jennifer Higdon was one of her favorite composers on an NCS Education Concert because she was the *only* woman on the concert program, but not because that she saw herself in Higdon or related to her as a young woman. Other children I interviewed similarly pointed out a composer who was the only woman or the only composer-of-color on a concert program. However, it was unusual for children to rationalize their preference as having to do with diversifying composers' identity representation or identifying with the composer themselves.[188]

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[186] The recent #representationmatters movement frequently cites the importance of children seeing successful adults who share their visible identities. I agree with this sentiment, and I also notice that articles and perspectives from this movement often do not cite children themselves. See Sneha Jos, "Why Representation Matters," *Defiant Magazine*, July 14, 2019, https://www.defiantmagazine.org/articles/2019/7/14/why-representation-matters; Gordon C. Nagayama Hall, "Representation Matters: Seeing Someone Like Yourself Can Increase Your Self-Esteem," *Psychology Today*, March 27, 2018, https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/life-in-the-intersection/201803/representation-matters; "#representationmatters," Twitter, last accessed January 21, 2020, https://twitter.com/hashtag/representationmatters?ref_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Ehashtag.

[187] All young people interviewed with IRB approval that necessitates anonymity. G was in fourth-grade at the time of our interview. G, Interviewed by author, iPhone recording, Clayton, NC, March 5, 2019.

[188] Some non-musical studies analyzing youths' understandings of personal and social identity include Meaghan Gartner, Lisa Kiang, and Andrew Supple, "Prospective Links Between Ethnic Socialization, Ethnic and American Identity, and Well-Being Among Asian-American Adolescents," *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 43, no. 10 (2013): 1715-1727; Christia Spears Brown, "Children's Perceptions of Racial and Ethnic Discrimination: Differences Across Children and Contexts," in *Handbook of Race, Racism, and the Developing Child*, eds. Stephen M. Quintana and Clark McKown (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2008), 133-153; Susan Honeyman, "Trans(cending)gender through Childhood," in *The Children's Table: Childhood Studies and the Humanities*, ed. Anna Mae Duane (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013), 175.

During my participatory research at GSA, students shared strong insights about the visual representation of composers on classroom composer posters. Students related themselves and their peers to the race and gender identities of composers in two widely distributed classroom posters. Yet the students also took careful note of other aspects of the posters that I had previously overlooked or thought little of, such as the colors of fonts and photographs or the unfamiliar and even feminized hairstyles of eighteenth-century composers.

Articulating the issue underlying many visual materials analyzed in this chapter, music education scholar Julia Eklund Koza states, with respect to gender bias in music history textbooks, "individual picture, of themselves, usually were not a problem; it was only when the pictures were examined collectively that the magnitude of the problem became apparent."[189] As a critical example within the field of music education, Koza analyzed how 1988 middle school-level music textbooks represented women and girls. In her thorough study, Koza did not consult children directly, but rather she and her research partner extensively analyzed each image in three editions of 1988 series music textbooks. Koza found several biases in the gendered imagery of these textbooks, such as the higher percentage of images of men and boys compared to women and girls and how females were more frequently depicted as girls than males were depicted as boys. As Koza writes, "The youth statistic may…indicate that textbook illustrations reinforce the stereotypical belief that music is appropriate for girls but less so for women."[190] Furthermore, while the stereotypically masculine roles of conductors and brass players were overwhelming depicted with images of men, "males were [still] in the majority for nearly every

[189] Julia Eklund Koza, "Females in 1988 Middle School Music Textbooks: An Analysis of Illustrations," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 42, no. 2 (1994): 165-166.

[190] Koza, Females in 1988 Middle School Music Textbooks," 153.

instrument, even those instruments that today are considered feminine (i.e. violin and clarinet) or gender neutral (i.e. saxophone and cello)."[191] Koza's work is critical not only for revealing how images represent gendered biases, but also for her methodology of examining images collectively. In a similar vein, by covering several examples of classical music media for children, this chapter reveals the urgent necessity for expanding resources and improving representations.

The Composer is Dead Keeping the Canon Alive

For children's classical music programming, educational concerts enforce norms in classical music culture because of their focus on standard composers and musical works. The twenty-first century multimedia work, *The Composer is Dead*, is an apt example. *The Composer is Dead* is a 2009 children's book that has received national attention not only on bookshelves and libraries, but also on concert stages.[192] Before being published as an illustrated book for children, famed youth fiction author Lemony Snicket wrote *The Composer is Dead* as a narrative orchestral work introducing children to the instruments and instrument sections.[193] The plot is a murder mystery, where an Investigator interviews each instrument section as suspects after "the

[191] Ibid., 163.

[192] Daniel Handler, "Lemony Snicket: the trouble with being interested in classical music is that people look at you funny," *Guardian*, April 10, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/music/2016/apr/10/lemony-snicket-why-i-love-classical-music-daniel-handler-interview; "Edwin Outwater," San Francisco Symphony, accessed May 22, 2018, https://www.sfsymphony.org/About-Us/Musicians-Conductors/Edwin-Outwater.

[193] Zack Smith, "Daniel Handler, aka Lemony Snicket, discusses his music, movies, and books," *IndyWeek*, March 4, 2009, https://www.indyweek.com/indyweek/daniel-handler-aka-lemony-snicket-discusses-his-music-movies-and-books/Content?oid=1214216.

composer" is found dead. Rather than arresting the murderer, the mystery concludes with the realization that "all" of the composers are already dead.[194]

Notably, as the narrator articulates that all of the composers are dead, he speaks over music written by a living composer, Nathanial Stookey, creating a delightful contradiction.[195] Conductors and critical reviewers have heralded *The Composer is Dead* as an exciting new approach for introducing children to classical music, alongside, and in some cases replacing, old favorites like Sergei Prokofiev's *Peter and the Wolf*, Camille Saint-Saën's *Carnival of the Animals*, and Benjamin Britten's *Young Person's Guide to the Orchestra*.[196] With Lemony Snicket's clever irony and celebrity, *The Composer is Dead* has caught the attention of youth concert programmers around the United States and become one of the most performed new works of the twenty-first century.[197]

Reviewers and concert programmers foreground Snicket's role because of his celebrity status within children's culture as the author of the popular *Series of Unfortunate Events* novels and Netflix series, and because of his compelling origin story for the piece. Snicket traces his inspiration for *The Composer is Dead* to his performance as the narrator for Sergei Prokofiev's *Peter and the Wolf* with the San Francisco Symphony Youth Orchestra on December 14, 2003.[198]

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[194] Lemony Snicket, *The Composer is Dead*, illus. Carson Ellis, music Nathaniel Stookey (New York: HarperCollins, Inc., 2009).

[195] Joshua Kosman, "Symphony: 'The Composer is Dead,'" *SFGATE*, March 22, 2009, https://www.sfgate.com/entertainment/article/Symphony-The-Composer-is-Dead-3168020.php.

[196] Handler, "Lemony Snicket"; "Edwin Outwater," San Francisco Symphony.

[197] Daniel Handler, "Lemony Snicket: the trouble with being interested in classical music is that people look at you funny," *Guardian*, April 10, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/music/2016/apr/10/lemony-snicket-why-i-love-classical-music-daniel-handler-interview; "Edwin Outwater," San Francisco Symphony, accessed May 22, 2018, https://www.sfsymphony.org/About-Us/Musicians-Conductors/Edwin-Outwater.

[198] "Past SFYO Concerts," San Francisco Symphony, accessed May 22, 2018, https://www.sfsymphony.org/Youth-Family/Youth-Orchestra/Archives/Past-Concerts.aspx.

He recalled of this experience, "*Peter and the Wolf* has very beautiful music, but an insipid, unpleasant story. So I suggested…something that could introduce the orchestra to young people without introducing them to a really boring story about a grandfather and a wolf."[199] By highlighting the tension between old and new in his criticisms of one of the most iconic works of classical music programming for children, Snicket spoke to a key motivation of symphonies' robust education efforts: to quell anxieties of classical music's dying, "grayed-haired" audiences by creating new, enlivened audiences among the young. His answer was not only to foster new audience members, but also to create a new work.

The content of *The Composer is Dead* playfully couples its newness with the old tropes of classical music culture. The text begins with an ominous and obvious declaration that, "The composer is dead," didactically going on to explain, "'Composer' is a word which here means 'a person who sits in a room, muttering and humming and figuring out what notes the orchestra is going to play.' This is called composing."[200] Next, the narrative voice reveals itself as the Inspector who vows to "solve this terrible crime against humanity and/or classical music."[201] The Inspector decides that the best way to find the composer's murderer is to interview each instrument section of the orchestra as suspects. As he moves from the violin section to the cellos and basses, violas, flutes, trumpets, French horns, trombones, percussion, tuba and harp, the accompanying music in the orchestral version of the piece highlights sonic characteristics for each instrument. The flutes play passages imitating birds, which also serves as their alibi in the

[199] Smith, "Daniel Handler, aka Lemony Snicket, discusses his music, movies, and books."

[200] Lemony Snicket, *The Composer is Dead* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2009), 1.

[201] Ibid., 7.

story.[202] In addition to allowing children to hear the instrument sections in isolation during the interviews, helping them identify the sound of the violin from that of the viola, for example, these moments allow adults to chuckle at its play with instrument stereotypes. Because many listeners, particularly adults and older children, were once or still are instrument performers, these stereotypes may also resonate with listeners' identities. For example, it's not just the sound of the clarinet that is "sneaky," it's the clarinet player herself.

The Inspector becomes frustrated when he finds that each section has a solid alibi, spurring his most impassioned accusation. "'Of course,' he said, 'the Conductor! You've been murdering composers for years! In fact, wherever there's a conductor, you're sure to find a dead composer!'"[203] As evidence for his hunch, the Inspector lists out "all" of the composers in poetic virtuosity. Carson Ellis's illustrations depict ghostly men hovering in the clouds, eyes closed with wafting arms and distinctively expressive eyebrows, from Beethoven's furrowed ones to the wistful calm of Brahms's.[204] The Inspector announces,

> Beethoven—dead!
> Bach—dead!
> Brahms—dead!
> Mozart—dead!
> Haydn—dead!
> Schubert—unfinished, but dead!
> Mahler—dead!
> Chopin—romantic…but dead!
> Tchaikovsky—dramatic…dead!
> Stravinsky—ecstatic…dead!
> Schoenberg—incomprehensible…but dead!
> Berlioz—dead.
> Prokofiev—dead.
> Debussy—dead.

[202] Listeners familiar with classical music may notice this as a connection to the depiction of the bird in Sergei Prokofiev's *Peter and the Wolf*, Op. 67 with the sound of the flute. The *Peter and the Wolf* reference also connects to the origin story of *The Composer is Dead*."

[203] Snicket, *The Composer is Dead*, 29.

[204] Snicket, *The Composer is Dead*, 30-1.

> Vivaldi!
> Wagner!
> Sibelius!
> Ives!
> Handel!
> Britten!
>
> Mendelssohn!
> Scriabin!
> Liszt!
> Messiaen!
> Copland!
> Cage!
> Dvorak!
> Shostakovich!
> Ligeti!
> Lutoslawski!
> Corelli!
> Bellini!
> Puccini!
> Rossini!
> Scarlatti!
> Busoni!
> Boccherini!
> Verdi!
> J.C. Bach!
> W.F. Bach!
> C.P.E. Bach!
> Offenbach!...[205]

But the Inspector is still mistaken, as the orchestral instruments once again prove him wrong. To stop his arrest of the conductor, they admit together,

> The conductor didn't work alone. All of us have butchered a composer at one time or another. But we also keep composers alive. Without strings and woodwinds, without brass and percussion, there would be no composing at all. . . .
>
> Um, except for various kinds of nonorchestral music.
>
> If you want to hear the work of the world's greatest composers, you're going to have to allow for a litter murder here and there.[206]

[205] Snicket, *The Composer is Dead*, 30-1.

[206] Snicket, *The Composer is Dead*, 33.

The final words of the text compel its audience members to continue the quest for drama and "great" music through empowerment. While those familiar with classical music culture often express frustration that the genre is "dying"—a colloquial reference to both the age of its audiences and its declining cultural relevance—this ending strikes an empowering, and almost equally common, counternarrative.[207] Readers and listeners of *The Composer is Dead* can join the mission of keeping composers alive as the (future) fanbase for classical music, notably distinct from the "nonorchestral." Furthermore, the ending subtly acknowledges the audience as a participant in classical music culture through the suggestion of its final sentence that "those who want something a little more interesting. . . should *go* to the orchestra! [emphasis mine]" rather than perform in, conduct or compose for the orchestra. The work emphasizes the importance of each role—composer, performer, conductor, and audience member—proportionally to their normative status in classical music culture writ large.

The Composer is Dead highlights key components of classical music culture, canonization, and childhood-based analysis. It showcases the preeminent role of the composer compared to other musical roles in classical music culture. It references both the canon of "standard" composers and the canon of children's concert music. Additionally, *The Composer is Dead* highlights only an exclusive canon of composers while also offering a strategic device for subverting canonic trends. Instrument stereotypes articulate the close tie between musicianship and identity in various musical roles and their link to gender stereotypes. Moreover, despite its

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[207] Les Dreyer, "Sunday Dialogue: Is Classical Music Dying?" New York Times, November 24, 2012, https://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/25/opinion/sunday/sunday-dialogue-is-classical-music-dying.html; Lawrence Kramer, *Why Classical Music Still Matters* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Anna Bull, *Class, Control, and Classical Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), xv.

intended audience of children, reviews and reception reveal that it is particularly ineffective among children themselves. It places the composer at its center, rather than children and the priorities of childhood.

The identical title and opening passage, *The Composer is Dead*/"the composer is dead," display how classical music discourse highlights the composer's peak authority. The Inspector is the narrator and main character, but the figure of the composer causes the most concern. The ending solidifies the composer's preeminence as its empowering mission centers on sustaining "the world's greatest composers." The Inspector's virtuosic recitation makes it clear who these great composers are, introducing young people to forty-two dead white male composers. Three of the composers in the list—Charles Ives, Aaron Copland, and John Cage—are from the United States, with the remaining thirty-nine from Europe.[208]

Stookey's compositional role in *The Composer is Dead* supports and contradicts the standards-first approach. On one hand, the music he composed aurally supports listeners becoming familiar with the musical idioms of the standards rather than promoting his own compositional voice. While the narrator lists off the dead composers, Stookey's music fills in the pauses with direct quotations from the composers' most famous pieces. Stravinsky pairs with *The Rite of Spring*, Schoenberg with *Pierrot lunaire*, and Berlioz with his setting of *Dies Irae* for *Symphony Fantastique*—the last one being most appropriate for the story's morose theme. On the other hand, Stookey is not considered one of "the great composers" of the standards so he serves as an example of a new, lesser-known composer. Still, counting in Nathaniel Stookey adds another white male, US-born composer to the list.

[208] Snicket, *The Composer is Dead*, 32-33.

Educator Patricia Tauzer points out gender representation in her Common Sense Media review of the children's book, stating, "we are left with the idea that classical composers are all dead, and dead men at that."[209] When reading the book with their children, she suggests that parents ask, "Do you recognize any of the names? Do you see any women on the list?"[210] The answer is no, there are no women listed. Neither are there any composers-of-color or composers from outside Europe or the United States.

Musicologists have spent decades unpacking the history behind the deeply engrained notion of the "great composer" within classical music as well as criticizing its exclusionary implications for canon formation and identity politics. Arguing for a historical approach, William Weber has traced how composer prominence arose from specific shifts in European musical life between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. During the seventeenth-century in Britain, "master composers" only referred to a specific group of composers who wrote for English church music.[211] This shifted in the eighteenth-century, when performance ensembles favored, as Weber writes, "the presentation of old works organized as repertories and defined as sources of authority with regard to musical taste," where royal courts and the composers they championed largely determined such authority.[212] Weber contributed to a generation of musicologists in the 1980s and 1990s who became increasingly critical of their discipline's origins and biases. Much of these efforts examined the emphasis on composers and canons, such as linking musicology's

[209] Patricia Tauzer, "The Composer is Dead: Book Review," Common Sense Media, accessed May 22, 2018, https://www.commonsensemedia.org/book-reviews/the-composer-is-dead; "About Patricia Tauzer," Common Sense Media, accessed September 27, 2018, https://www.commonsensemedia.org/users/patricia-tauzer/bio.

[210] Tauzer, "The Composer is Dead: Book Review."

[211] Weber, "The History of the Musical Canon," 338-9.

[212] Ibid., 340 and 343.

founding by German scholars at the height of nationalism in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries to the resulting disciplinary favoritism towards Austro-German composers.[213]

While some musicologists have demonstrated the historical roots of composers' prominence in the canon, others have focused their arguments on criticizing the intentions behind the social construction of this prominence, calling out composers' favoritism not only as biased, but as oppressive. Feminist analyses, for example, demonstrate how emphasis on composers, and specifically symphonic Austro-German composers, enforces gender oppression through the exclusion and belittlement of women. In *Gender and the Musical Canon*, Marcia Citron shows how, across centuries, social norms dissuaded women from composing. Even women that did compose were excluded from professional networks and from composing in the musical forms, such as the symphony, most revered in the canon.[214] Their systemic marginalization from professionalism as composers made the composer-category itself sexist. Citron as well as Susan McClary also analyzed the ideologies of music reception that gendered musical characteristics, devaluing and subordinating the feminine.[215]

But like the persistence of women composing, and even composing symphonies, in the face of myriad disadvantages, scholarship on women composers also emerged through the cracks. McClary questioned why historical studies on "such extraordinary figures as Hildegard von Bingen, Barbara Strozzi, Clara Schumann, Ethel Smyth, Ruth Crawford Seeger, and many others" had not gained greater publicity in music scholarship by the 1990s, attributed *this*

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[213] Weber, "The History of the Musical Canon"; Douglas W. Shadle, *Orchestrating the Nation: The Nineteenth-Century American Symphonic Enterprise* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016); Bruno Nettle, "The Institutionalization of Musicology: Perspectives of a North American Ethnomusicology," in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicolas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 287-310.

[214] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 82.

[215] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 120-164; Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 80-111.

exclusion to the gendered oppressions not only of the canon but also of the musicological discipline.[216] With respect to *The Composer is Dead*, feminists' frustrations about the implicit male composer are valid in not only the depiction of solely male composers, but also the opening passage's unapologetic referral to the composer as "*He* was not humming. *He* was not moving…[emphasis mine]."[217]

As one of the most performed new works of the twentieth-first century, *The Composer is Dead* offers an exemplary lens into the contemporary state of adults' curation of classical music for children. Analyzing its portrayal and representation of composers and instrument sections also shows the biases of the classical music canon in popular culture, even those that have been widely criticized in musicological scholarship. But popular culture has been far more influential than scholarship in determining children's classical music introductions. Interpreting *The Composer is Dead* as a popular depiction of classical music culture is a demonstration not of what classical music *is* in the twenty-first century US, but rather how adults think children should first see and hear it.

Moreover, this analysis not only reveals the biases of classical music culture, but also the biases of adult-centric culture. Reviewers and concert programmers attribute the success of *The Composer is Dead* primarily to its reception among adults, rather than among children. Adult listeners, especially those familiar with classical music culture, stay engaged with inside jokes about instrument stereotypes. Yet while the adults are chuckling, children in attendance are often less engaged. *Variety* reviewer Dennis Harvey wrote of a 2010 performance, "this intended cheekily offbeat family show feels very thin, its mild amusements likely to induce some seat-

[216] McClary, *Feminine Endings*, 5.

[217] Snicket, *The Composer is Dead*, 1.

squirming amongst youngest viewers."[218] The thirty-minute piece is long for a children's audience. Children's concerts typically assemble excerpts or short movements of three- to five-minute-long pieces, weaved together with an entertaining theme and conductor commentary. Even *Peter and the Wolf*, the oft-cited inspiration for *The Composer is Dead*, is often abridged in shorter arrangements.[219]

Like the performance piece, the children's book also engages adults more successfully than its intended audience of young readers. In my Music and Storytelling class at the Global Scholars Academy, I read the book out loud with first graders in 2018 but they did not get the jokes and found it difficult to sit still. It took us three class periods to finish it, and, unlike the other children's books we had read together, my students did not ask follow-up questions about *The Composer is Dead* in subsequent lessons.[220] A *Kirkus* book reviewer similarly concluded, "Conceived as an alternative to 'Peter and the Wolf' but more a send-up than an informational visit to the pit, the episode isn't likely to make much of a lasting impression on young audiences."[221]

User reviews on GoodReads.com show that many adults have embraced the book with an overall four out of five stars rating, but this seems to be a rating of their enjoyment rather than that of the young people. A reviewer who gave it five-stars admitted, "my hunch is that adults

[218] Dennis Harvey, "Lemony Snicket's The Composer is Dead," *Variety*, December 6, 2010, http://variety.com/2010/legit/reviews/lemony-snicket-s-the-composer-is-dead-1117944161/.

[219] For example, the North Carolina Symphony's woodwind quintet performed an abridged arrangement throughout the 2017-2018 season. Sergei Prokofiev, *Peter and the Wolf—Woodwind Quintet*, arr. Earl C. North (Turnbridge: Trillenium Music Co., 1999).

[220] Author's fieldnotes, February 28, 2018.

[221] "The Composer is Dead," *Kirkus*, May 20, 2010, https://www.kirkusreviews.com/book-reviews/lemony-snicket/the-composer-is-dead/.

will enjoy it even more than kids will."[222] Another five-star reviewer noted, "While marketed as a children's picture book, young children won't get most of the jokes." She recommended the book to the already "musical inclined…If they've played in an orchestra, even just in high school, they will be rolling [with laughter] by the time the experience ends."[223] Her statement claims that one must have familiarity with the orchestra to enjoy the book, contradicting *The Composer is Dead*'s claim to be an educational introduction. *The Composer is Dead* certainly appeals to adults, but it is inconsistent in its aims to entertain or even educate children.[224]

Whether or not it is educationally effective or age appropriate, *The Composer is Dead* demonstrates how the idea that children should learn the standard works of classical music repertoire first passes from adults to children through the pairing of concert works *and* visual media. Seeing the composer in the 2009 picture book pages as an old white man in a powdered white wig reinforces how composers have been visually represented to children in the United States since the early twentieth-century. The *Music Appreciation Hour*, for example, did not declare the composers to all be dead, but it did cast them as genius men that children should equally recognize and revere.

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[222] Lisa Vegan, "Reviews: The Composer is Dead," *Goodreads*, posted September 7, 2009, accessed May 22, 2018, https://www.goodreads.com/review/show/70379364?book_show_action=true&from_review_page=1.

[223] Michelle Witte, "Reviews: The Composer is Dead," *Goodreads*, posted November 29, 2011, accessed May 22, 2018, https://www.goodreads.com/review/show/241062689?book_show_action=true&from_review_page=1.

[224] This is surprising in consideration of Snicket's *Series of Unfortunate Events* novels, since they have been heralded for championing children's agency and intellectual capacities. Kendra Magnusson, "Lemony Snicket's A Series of Unfortunate Events: Daniel Handler and Marketing the Author," *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* 37, no. 1 (2012): 88.

Historicizing Standards and Tokens on the *Music Appreciation Hour*

In the previous century, Walter Damrosch appealed to children to become the orchestral audiences of the future with missionary zeal, believing that first and foremost children should learn the great composers of Western classical music. To introduce the second season to teachers who might play the broadcasts in their classrooms, Damrosch stated, "Last winter I inaugurated a series of educational morning concerts intended for the schools and colleges of our country. Their purpose was to open up the vast and important field of music to the younger generation, and through carefully selected programs played by my orchestra and accompanied by short explanatory comments from me, to initiate them into the beauties of the works of the great music masters."[225] Yet, recalling his harsh words for Leopold Stokowski's addition of modernistic music to youth concerts, he had strict ideas about which music was appropriate for children's listening ears. To Damrosch, the great music masters were overwhelmingly nineteenth-century European male composers of symphonies.

These "the great music masters" were represented prominently because composers were a core component of the MAH's pedagogical approach. The MAH had four series of its curriculum, each curated for a different group of school children's grade levels.[226] Because Series D (designed for high schools, colleges and music clubs) focused entirely on composer centered-programs from the 1930–31 season onward, that year highlighting Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Berlioz, Liszt, Wagner, Brahms, Richard Strauss, and

[225] Walter Damrosch, Instructor's Manual for the NBC *Music Appreciation Hour*, 1929-1930, Damrosch-Blaine Collection: Box 15, Folder 1, page 5, Music Division, Library of Congress (LOC).

[226] Series A was for grades 3 and 4, Series B for grades 5 and 6, Series C for grades 7, 8, and 9, and Series D for high schools, colleges, and music clubs.

Stravinsky, the MAH made knowledge of composers the ultimate goal for young people following its extensive curriculum.[227]

Additionally, portraits in the student manuals make the importance of composers clear throughout all age groups as each series of student manuals features portraits of composers. Series A includes "cut-out pictures of composers and orchestral instruments" and Series B includes "cut-out pictures of composers." These "cut-outs" are located at the end of the manuals.[228] Rather than cutting out all of the composer and instrument pictures at once, the workbooks guide students to focus on one instrument image and/or one composer image per broadcast in the series. The Series A program, "Flute and Clarinet," that aired on December 11, 1936 includes an excerpt from Pyotr Tchaikovsky's *Nutcracker* ballet placed beside a blank box with instructions for students to paste his picture.[229] Series B did away with the instrument pictures but maintained composer pictures for cutting-and-pasting. Series C and D did not invite students into the activity of cutting and pasting, but they both include the composer portraits already on the workbook pages.

While the MAH expanded audiences through its national broadcasting on NBC radio, it maintained an exclusive repertoire of composers. Damrosch's European-centric approach followed the canonic tendencies of classical music to focus on Austro-German composers. As a German immigrant himself and the son of prominent conductor, Leopold Damrosch, Walter often admitted his personal affections and even personal connections to the composers he

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[227] Instructor's Manuals for the NBC *Music Appreciation Hour* from the 1930-31 Season through the 1940-41 Season, Damrosch-Blaine Collection: Box 15, Music Division, Library of Congress (LOC).

[228] Student's Notebook Series A, NBC *Music Appreciation Hour* 1930-31, pages 39-42, Damrosch-Blaine Collection: Box 16, Music Division, LOC.

[229] Student's Notebook Series A, NBC *Music Appreciation Hour* 1930-31, pages 12-13, Damrosch-Blaine Collection: Box 17, Music Division, LOC.

programmed. Yet at the onset of World War II, he carefully tempered his rhetoric and admitted by the final 1941–42 season of the MAH that his symphony only played dead German composers who, as he was careful to note in the face of anti-German anxieties, could not collect royalties.[230]

However, there are a few occasions when the MAH programmed non-European, living composers, white women, or composers-of-color. Marches by US composers including John Philip Sousa and Karl King sounded at the midpoint of each Friday broadcast to accompany students walking between classes. However, the MAH rarely commented on these works beyond identifying their title and composer in program content. In later years of the MAH, a few Series D programs featured "Modern European Composers," such as Maurice Ravel and Jean Sibelius, and "Modern American Composers," such as Samuel Barber.[231] However, these composers were not identified individually in program titles, in contrast to the regular Series D concerts highlighting a single (white male canonic European) composer such as the "Mozart Program" or the "Verdi Program."[232] They also maintained that the composer portraits represented only white men. Women were heard as guest performers, but extremely rarely as composers and never in a visual portrait.[233]

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[230] Howe, "The NBC Music Appreciation Hour," 74; Howe references George Martin, *The Damrosch Dynasty: America's First Family of Music* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1983), 242-52.

[231] Student's Notebook Series D, NBC *Music Appreciation Hour* 1939-40, Damrosch-Blaine Collection: Box 17, Music Division, LOC.

[232] Teacher's Guide, NBC *Music Appreciation Hour* 1939-40, Damrosch-Blaine Collection: Box 15, Music Division, LOC.

[233] One exception was Hazel Gertrude Kinscella's "Scalp Dance" from *Indian Sketches* featured on the 1933-34 Series B Concert 10 "Dances of Many Lands" program. See Instructor's Manual, NBC *Music Appreciation Hour* 1933-34, pages 34-35, Damrosch-Blaine Collection: Box 15, Music Division, LOC.

The MAH made exception to its standard repertoire of canonic composers pointedly on two Series B concerts titled "Dances of the New World" that aired first on the 1931–1932 season and again on the 1932–1933 season. In both seasons they followed a concert titled "Dances of the Old World" featuring dance-inspired musical works by European composers. The "Dances of the New World" concert that aired on January 8, 1932 included the following musical works and composers.[234]

1. Dagger Dance from "Natoma" by Victor Herbert
2. Deer Dance by Charles Sanford Skilton
3. Juba Dance from Suite "In the Bottoms" by R. Nathaniel Dett
4. "Sheep and Goat Walking' to Pasture" (Cowboys' and Old Fiddlers' Breakdown) by David Wendell Guion
5. Cuban Dance No. 1 by Ignacio Cervantes
6. Foxtrot, "I Got Rhythm" by George Gershwin[235]

Here there are four white American composers: Victor Herbert, Charles Sanford Skilton, David Wendell Guion and George Gershwin as well as R. Nathaniel Dett, who is a Canadian American Black composer and Ignacio Cervantes, who is a Cuban composer.

With no European composers, the program broke with the backgrounds more typical of MAH concerts across all series. An introduction to the concert in the Instructors' Manual made note of these differences.

> In the preceding concert of this Series we heard dance music from European countries. Today we shall hear music written for or inspired by dances that have originated in the western hemisphere. Many different kinds of people live in the New World. There are Indians, Negroes, cowboys and Spanish-Americans, to mention only a few, and we shall see how differently they express themselves through their dances.[236]

[234] Instructor's Handbook, 1931-32, page 32; Student Notebook, 1931-32, page 14.

[235] Ibid.

[236] Instructor's Handbook, 1931-32, page 31.

The conversational prose in this introduction shows how the MAH conceived of the relationships between its listeners and the programmed music. Ernest La Prade and Charles H. Farnsworth prepared the manuals, but the text gives the impression that Damrosch himself is speaking directly to the reader.[237] The text frequently uses first person "we" statements that assumes a shared identity between Damrosch, the instructors, and the students. By contrast, the "Indians, Negroes, cowboys, and Spanish-Americans" receive a "they" pronoun. Postcolonial theorist Edward Said points out the stakes of such distinctions in *Orientalism*, questioning, "whether there is any way of avoiding the hostility expressed by the division, say, of men into 'us' (Westerns) and 'they' (Orientals). For such divisions are generalities whose use historically and actually has been to press the importance of the distinction between some men and some other men, usually towards not especially admirable ends."[238] To be sure, the MAH workbook materials use "they" pronouns often to describe European composers and their communities since the concerts were broadcast in the United States. What is ambiguous in this example is whether or not the US children listening in were meant to identify themselves with the New World, supposedly their geographical home, being represented in the music. Furthermore, the only composer to be visually represented through the cut-and-paste portrait activity in the student

[237] There are several reasons why instructors and students using the manuals likely imagined Damrosch's voice and perspective, rather than La Prade and Fansworth, when reading. For example, "Walter Damrosch" is the only name on the front cover of the manuals, and the introductory pages include either a large portrait or photograph of Damrosch. The page opposite his portrait or photograph includes, in the student notebooks, an introduction, and in the instructor handbooks, a foreword that is written by Damrosch himself. Beginning the text in his first person direct address to the readers sets the tone for following text, when "you" and "we" continue the impression of a conversation between the reader and Damrosch. See Instructor's Manual, 1931-32 and Student Notebook Series B, 1931-32.

[238] Edward Said, *Orientalism, 25th Anniversary Edition with a New Preface by the Author* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 45.

notebook is Victor Herbert, one of the white American composers, rather than one of the composers-of-color.[239]

Musical exoticism, theorized in close ties with Orientalism, solidifies the cultural distance and difference between listeners and the music represented on "Dances of the New World." Musicologist W. Anthony Sheppard summarizes exoticism with respect to scholarship primarily on Western art music as "a form of representation in which people, places, and cultural practices are depicted as foreign from the perspective of the composer and/or intended audience."[240] These represented people, places, and cultural practices are understood as non-Western Others, where the Western subject viewing the objectified Other notices difference as the preeminent characteristic.[241] While children may identify as living in the New World, the MAH materials made it clear that the musical representations of "Indians, Negroes, cowboys, and Spanish-Americans" are still exotic to them, rather than tied to their own communities and heritages.

The subjects of the musical works and their descriptions in the manuals also demonstrate the distanced curiosity characteristic of musical exoticism. Victor Herbert's Dagger Dance and Charles Sanford Skilton's Deer Dance are both examples of white American composers appropriating Native American music in their classical music compositions. These pieces

[239] Student Notebook Series B, 1931-1932, page 14. In the following year, the "Dances of the New World" student activities also featured a cut and paste portrait of a white composer, even though there were composers-of-color of that program, too. See Student Notebook Series B, 1932-1933, 14.

[240] W. Anthony Sheppard, "Exoticism," *Oxford Bibliographies: Music*, last reviewed May 5, 2017, last modified February 25, 2016, doi: 10.1093/OBO/9780199757824-0123.

[241] Georgina Born and David Hesmondhaigh, eds., *Western Music and its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); W. Anthony Sheppard contextualizes "exoticism as a term encompassing the others and as roughly equivalent to Orientalism." See Said, *Orientalism*.

demonstrate the influence of the Indianist movement in the United States, at its height among composers in the early 1900s, on the MAH. The Indianist movement refers to composers across the United States and Europe searching for nationalist identity through their use of folk music traditions native to their respective countries, but as musicologist Tara Browner distinguishes, "Although generally considered a product of American nationalism, Indianist musics are nationalist by geography rather than ethnicity, inasmuch as none of the movement's composers claimed any ties by blood to the peoples whose music they appropriated."[242] This is similar to the MAH's approach in programming music of the New World, but not expecting the children listening to identify with the people whose music was represented on the program.

The language of exoticism comes through in the Instructor's Manual description of Herbert's Dagger Dance. The manual explains that "Its stern, almost ferocious, rhythm, [sic] marked throughout by heavy drum-beats is typical of Indian dance music."[243] The accompanying quiz question in the Student Notebook prompts students to put a check by the word that correctly completes the sentence.

1. The "Dagger Dance" from the opera "Natoma" is
   Graceful. Lazy. Savage. Stately.[244]

By characterizing the piece as "ferocious" and "savage," the MAH curated an experience of the "Dagger Dance" that emphasized Native Americans as a dangerous cultural Other. It also aligned

[242] Tara Browner, "'Breathing the Indian Spirit': Thoughts on Musical Borrowing and the Indianist Movement in American Music." *American Music* 15, no. 3 (Autumn 1997): 266.

[243] Instructor's Manual, 1931-1932, page 32.

[244] Student Notebook Series B, 1931-32, page 14.

with the strategy to demonize Native Americans, whether through music or other cultural forms, that worked to justify the colonialist and racist project of US expansion.[245]

Two works by composers-of-color demonstrate a contrasting manifestation of exoticism.[246] Black American composer R. Nathanial Dett's *Juba Dance* utilizes rhythms of musical practices developed within Black communities, and Cuban composer Ignacio Cervantes's *Cuban Dance No. 1* is characterized by MAH materials as a Latin American tango.[247] Compared to Herbert's and Skilton's compositions featuring Native American music, the shared cultural identity of these composers with their musical subjects may seem more authentic. However, because "Dances of the New World" was only one of the very few programs throughout the MAH's seasons that featured composers-of-color, placing more weight on the stakes of their infrequent appearances, the conflation of the composers with their cultural identities through their musical subjects leads to essentialist interpretations.

Limiting exposure to composers-of-color through solely musical works specific to these heritages can lead to assumptions that, for example, R. Nathanial Dett could only compose with Black musical idioms or Cervantes could only compose Latin dances. Looking to their compositional outputs proves this assumption incorrect, but schoolchildren would not easily have access to that information without it being presented to them directly. By contrast, white composers on the MAH are represented as free to compose on musical subjects that they both identify with and are distanced from. Scholars have examined how these types of cultural

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[245] Michael V. Pisani, *Imagining Native America in Music* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

[246] As contemporary examples, Glenn Watkins discusses how African American musicians navigated self-exoticism in the 1920s US Glenn Watkins, *Pyramids at the Louvre: Music, Culture, and Collage from Stravinsky to the Postmodernists* (Cambridge: Belknap, 1994).

[247] However, this composition is actually a Cuban habanera. The tango took one of its key rhythmic features from the Cuban habanera. Cervantes and the habanera pre-date the popularity of the tango.

representations enforce the colonialist gaze that allows white Westerns to champion their cultural products (classical music) as superior while also appropriating Othered cultures for their own purposes and possession.[248] When composers from Othered cultures are only represented as being able to authentically represent their culture, it essentializes them as being fixed within their cultural identity, in contrast to those who can move seamlessly through various cultures.

The importance of contextualizing the ties between colonialism and music history is well established in academic scholarship. In an article advocating to increase the inclusion of Black composers in university music history curricula, musicologist Lucius Wyatt writes, "Prevalent among many scholars is the view that because much of the music of black Americans has been produced within a unique socio-historical and cultural context, a clear understanding of that context is essential for an understanding of the music."[249] But to what extent are children able to critically engage with exoticist representations and the expansion of musical canons? A few young people's responses in the early years of the MAH show attention to the composer-centricity programming, but, as a very small glimpse, such examples only acknowledge composers who have long been central to the canon.

In fact, these few responses from young people on the MAH show how Damrosch's appeal that they learn about canonic composers was supported by other adults and even in programs beyond those that were composer specific. Fourteen-year-old Sara Louise Ekins, for example, references the Series B "Motion in Music" program in which Damrosch discussed the "Spinning Song" from Richard Wagner's *The Flying Dutchman* opera.

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[248] Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 175-213.

[249] Lucius R. Wyatt, "The Inclusion of Concert Music of African-American Composers in Music History Course," *Black Music Research Journal* 16, no. 2 (1996): 243.

> 'I hadn't thought much about music and what it means until I heard your programs. Since then I have hardly missed one of your programs. Mother says it is well to try to remember the composers and their pieces. Richard Wagner and his piece 'The Spinning Wheel' I have put into my mind where I will not lose it. Others will find their way there soon.'
>
> (Sara Louise Ekins (Age 14),
> Old Lyme, Conn.) [250]

The urging of Ekin's mother reflects the pedagogical values of the MAH that children remember composers and be able to identify their works. Ekin's reassurance that "Others will find their way there soon" shows that she, like her mother and Damrosch, not only values her own knowledge of canonic works, but also believes that it is best for other young people like herself to appreciate the composers, too.

In another example, a class of sixth-grade students shows robust delight in adhering to the MAH's intention that they prepare for concerts during class time prior to a broadcast.

> 'We have been preparing for two weeks for the program ('Nature in Music'), gathering pictures, copying the programs, talking about the music and the composers, and discussing the orchestra. We heard most of the things you told us to listen for. We are planning on listening to your program in two weeks.'
>
> (Sixth Grade, Roosevelt School,
> Norkfolk, Nebr.)[251]

"Nature in Music" aired on October 10, 1930 as the first program in Series B, for grades five and six, so the class followed their prescribed Series level. Furthermore, by spending two weeks preparing for the program and waiting two weeks until the next, the sixth-grade class likely only tuned into Series B rather than also listening in on the other series. This is notable, for although it was the intention of the MAH that each group of students only listen for thirty-minutes every

[250] Sara Louise Ekins, "Report on the Music Appreciation Hour, 1930," National Broadcasting Company (NBC) History Files: Folder 208, Recorded Sound Reference Center (RSRC), LOC.

[251] Roosevelt School Sixth Grade, "Report on the Music Appreciation Hour, 1930," National Broadcasting Company (NBC) History Files: Folder 208, Recorded Sound Reference Center (RSRC), LOC.

other week as the Roosevelt class did, NBC records show that many listeners tuned in for an hour every week, thus hearing all four Series. The Roosevelt School class, then, tightly followed the curriculum in both their listening practice and their preparation. The activities listed in their comments illustrate close engagement with the classroom manuals' pictures, programs, and composers. The sixth graders also show how, not only did they follow their teachers' instructions in preparing, they also cared about listening to what Damrosch himself valued. These students took pleasure in using the classroom materials and listening in the correct, intended way.

While several sources make it clear that NBC collected feedback from young listeners and their teachers, remnants of these documents and the young people's perspectives they contain are scarce.[252] The composer-centric narrative of music appreciation impacts present-day studies of music history as well, since audience reception was not considered a source of scholarship or authority until the late-twentieth-century.[253] Even then, reception studies in music, particularly in musicology, largely focus on reviews by professional music critics and occasionally the average adult listener. The pupils in this 1930 NBC report show that children have been talking back to these programs and contributing to reception far longer than academic scholarship has listened in. Still, the documents that exist with children's perspectives are hard to find, because, as childhood studies historian Karen Sánchez-Eppler has noted, historical archives and methods of research themselves are not organized into categories and call listings that bring out where children's voices reside.[254] Scholars of sound studies and archival histories also point

[252] National Broadcasting Company Records: Central Files, Correspondence: Damrosch, Walter, Wisconsin Historical Society; National Broadcasting Company (NBC) History Files: Folder 208, Recorded Sound Reference Center (RSRC), LOC; Birthday cards and some fan mail to Damrosch in Damrosch-Blaine Collection: Box 1, Music Division, LOC.

[253] Weber, "The History of the Musical Canon," 350.

[254] Karen Sánchez-Eppler, "In the Archives of Childhood," in *The Children's Table: Childhood Studies and the Humanities*, ed. Anna Mae Duane, (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 2013), 213-237. See also

out the revealing nature of archival silence. Silence in the archives tells its own hierarchy of value, where those with access to literacy, wealth, and status are remembered and the marginalized are forgotten. As a marginalized population in broader society, children can only murmur softly in their scattered locations across archives, hidden in the blank spaces between finding aid categories.[255]

Seeing Composers in North Carolina Symphony Education Concert Materials and on Posters

While it has not been adopted as a common methodology within musicological scholarship, ethnographic and participatory research with children has been emerging within the fields of social science, education, public health, childhood studies, and even ethnomusicology for decades.[256] Such work tends to position children within a marginalized social category, for example when childhood studies scholar John Wall theorizes childism as necessary advocacy for children's subjectivity in line with feminism, with respect to the greater attention to and reliance on adults' ideas in knowledge building and scholarship.[257] As children's literature scholar Justyna Deszcz-Tryhubczak and her research collaborators write in a 2019 article, following a

Karen Sánchez-Eppler, *Dependent States: The Child's Part in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

[255] Furthermore, as John Wall writes, "…while many groups face social marginalization, children's marginalization is compounded by having, on the whole, less experience fighting marginalization in the first place." John Wall, "Childism: The Challenge of Childhood to Ethics and the Humanities," in *The Children's Table: Childhood Studies and the Humanities*, ed. Anna Mae Duane, (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 2013), 71.

[256] Pia Christensen and Allison James, eds., *Research With Children: Perspectives and Practices* (London: Falmer Press, 2000); See "Child-focused Research" in Allison James and Adrian James, *Key Concepts in Childhood Studies* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2008), 17-19; John Blacking, *Venda Children's Songs: A Study in Ethnomusicological Analysis* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1967); Patricia Shehan Campbell, *Songs in Their Heads: Music and its Meaning in Children's Lives* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

[257] Wall, "Childism," 69.

"child-focused methodology endeavors to counter adultist biases in childhood studies. Arguably, its chief merit lies in empowering children and enhancing their 'agential potential'…by engaging them in the research process and encouraging them to take charge of it."[258] Childhood studies and anthropology scholars Pia Christensen and Allison James have also argued for the merits of a child-focus approach to research, while being careful to develop practices that bring out the diversity within childhood and between different children.

Indeed, essentialism is a common drawback of child-based research practices, as children's perspectives can be romanticized as more authentic, natural, or closer to truth than adults.[259] Moreover, child-based research can reify the social constructed dichotomy between children and adults that childhood studies scholars often work to reconceptualize.[260] Another issue is that child-based research can be idealistic to a fault, when it seeks to dispel power differentials in authority between adults and children while at the same time replicating them.[261] Working against articulating children as a fixed social category, ethnomusicologist Judah Cohen proposes analyzing childhood as a discourse in his research at a youth summer camp.[262] Historian Robin Bernstein theorizes childhood as a socially informed performance, similar to ethnomusicologist Tyler Bickford's decision in his research among children to "look especially

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[258] Justyna Deszcz-Tryhubczak et al., "Productive Remembering of Childhood: Child-Adult Memory-Work with the School Literary Canon," *Humanities* 8, no. 74 (2019): 5; Their phrase "agential potential" references Spyros Spyrou, *Disclosing Childhoods: Research and Knowledge Production for a Critical Childhood Studies* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 160.

[259] Honeyman, "Trans(cending)gender through Childhood," 167.

[260] Judah M. Cohen, "Reform Jewish Songleading and the Flexible Practices of Jewish-American Youth," in *The Oxford Handbook Children's Musical Cultures*, eds. Patricia Shehan Campbell and Trevor Wiggins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 62-63; Erin L. Raffety, "Minimizing Social Distance: Participatory Research with Children," *Childhood* 22, no. 3 (2015): 409-22.

[261] Deszcz-Tryhubczak et al., "Productive Remembering of Childhood," 6.

[262] Cohen, "Reform Jewish Songleading," 63.

to instances where children perform or express relations of solidarity with other children *as children*" (emphasis in original).[263] None of the arguments against essentialism dispel the meaningfulness of formations of children and childhood, but rather suggest how to contextualize these manifold formations.

Thus, while I position my research among children at GSA and NCS events as a necessary intervention into musicological research practices that have historically centered adults, I do so with a critical view that does not assume children are innately distinct from adults. With this in mind, it is also useful to position my research as inquiry among the intended audiences of the classical music materials I analyze in this dissertation and this chapter in particular. Seeking children's ideas as a reception study of the intended audience of educational programming thus offers another angle for prioritizing such responses. My motivations in following a child-based research methodology are also informed by the relatively infrequent engagement with children in both scholarship and popular media about the importance of representational identity politics of cultural canons on children's understandings of selfhood. While some scholars, including H. Meg Orita as well as Deszcz-Tryhubczak and her colleagues, have worked to include children in canon reformation, more often than not, children are spoken for rather than spoken with.[264] Rather, scholarship asking how representation impacts childhood has commonly analyzed visual media.[265]

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[263] Robin Bernstein, *Racial Innocence: Performing American Childhood from Slavery to Civil Rights* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 22-29; Tyler Bickford, *Schooling New Media: Music, Language, and Technology in Children's Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 28.

[264] H. Meg Orita, "Reconstituting Riot Grrrl: Marginalization and Memory in a Scene's Afterlife," paper presented at the Museum of Popular Culture Pop Conference in Seattle, WA, April 11, 2019; Deszcz-Tryhubczak et al., "Productive Remembering of Childhood," 6-13.

[265] Pia Christensen and Allison James, "Childhood Diversity and Commonality," in *Research With Children: Perspectives and Practices*, ed. Pia Christensen and Allison James (London: Falmer Press, 2000), 164; Jon Prosser, ed., *Image-based Research: A Sourcebook for Qualitative Researchers* (London: Falmer Press, 1998).

Scholars of children's literature, childhood studies, and child psychology have analyzed how visual media sources shape children's understanding of themselves and their relationships with others. Much of this work has focused on the representation of children-of-color, particularly Black American children, in picture books through advocacy for "diverse books." "Diverse books" primarily references children's books depicting people-of-color, but has more recently come to sometime imply other forms of identity diversity such as gender, family, sexuality, and ability diversity.[266] Library science and children's literature studies scholars credit pioneers including Charlemae Rollins, the children's librarian at the Chicago Public Library's Hall Branch from 1932–63 whose work coincided with the Chicago Black Renaissance, and Nancy Larrick whose article "The All-White World of Children's Books" became a landmark in documenting the racism and lack of diverse representation in children's literature.[267] Following Larrick's article, she and other library and literary professionals founded the Council on Interracial Books for Children, which published a bulletin with reviews from 1966–1989 on children's books depicting people- and children-of-color.[268]

Such work criticizing the dearth of diverse children's books, advocating for more diverse books, and compiling resources such as reviews and bibliographies to increase attention on diverse books in circulation has been carried on, notably by Rudine Sims Bishop's scholarship. Bishop's conceives that books can offer windows into the experiences of others and mirrors to

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[266] Cass Mabbott, "The We Need Diverse Books Campaign and Critical Race Theory: Carlemae Rollins and the Call for Diverse Children's Books," *Library Trends* 65, no. 4 (Spring 2017): 508-22.

[267] Ibid.; Nancy Larrick, "The All-White World of Children's Books," *Saturday Review of Literature* 48 (1965): 63-65, 84-85; "About," A Bibliography of the *Interracial Books for Children*, last accessed January 22, 2020, https://www.ibcbulletin.info/about/.

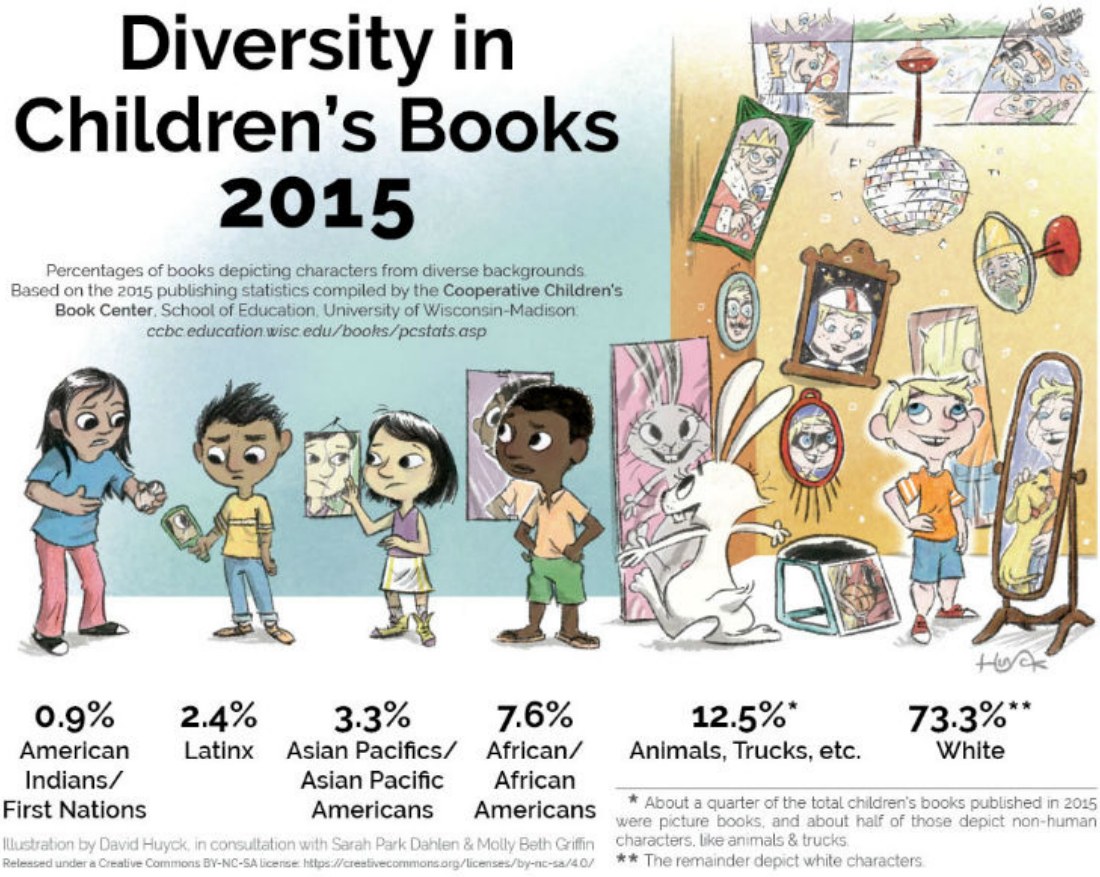
[268] *Interracial Books for Children* (New York: Council on Interracial Books for Children,1966-75); "About," A Bibliography of the *Interracial Books for Children*, https://www.ibcbulletin.info/about/.

reflect one's own experience to argue for the importance of children seeing varied types of representation through picture books. She writes not only of the problem that children-of-color rarely see themselves in picture books, but also that their representations are often distorted through reinforced stereotypes.[269] Today, the movement, We Need Diverse Books, has made discussions about the visual media of children's books urgent and ties itself to Bishop's legacy. The work of the *Interracial Books for Children Bulletin* has also been carried on, as library and information science scholar Nicole A. Cooke and her collaborators have made the bibliography available online with open access.[270]

Infographics depicting diversity in children's book percentages in 2015 and 2018 also demonstrate scholarly attention to the stakes of visual representation. In both infographics, children who identify with Asian Pacifics/Asian Pacific Americans and African/African Americans gaze into broken or distorted mirrors, showing that even when they are represented, such representations are not always empowering or affirming of their identities.

[269] Rudine Sims Bishop, *Shadow and Substance: Afro-American Experience in Contemporary Children's Fiction* (Urbana: National Council of Teachers of English, 1982).

[270] "Site Credits," A Bibliography of the *Interracial Books for Children*, https://www.ibcbulletin.info/credits/.



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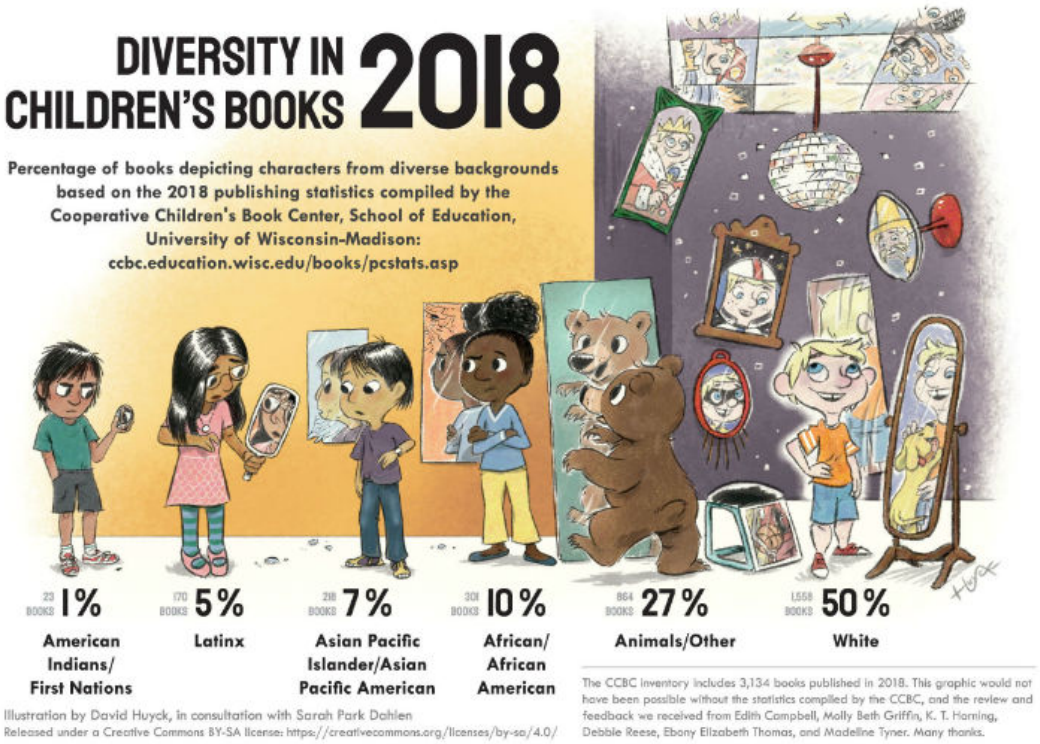
[271] David Huyck, "Diversity in Children's Books 2015 Infographic," in consultation with Sarah Park Dahlen and Molly Beth Griffin, SarahPark.com Blog, September 14, 2016, https://readingspark.wordpress.com/2016/09/14/picture-this-reflecting-diversity-in-childrens-book-publishing/. Statistics compiled by the Cooperative Children's Book Center, School of Education, University of Wisconsin-Madison: ccbc.education.wisc.edu/books/pcstats.asp.



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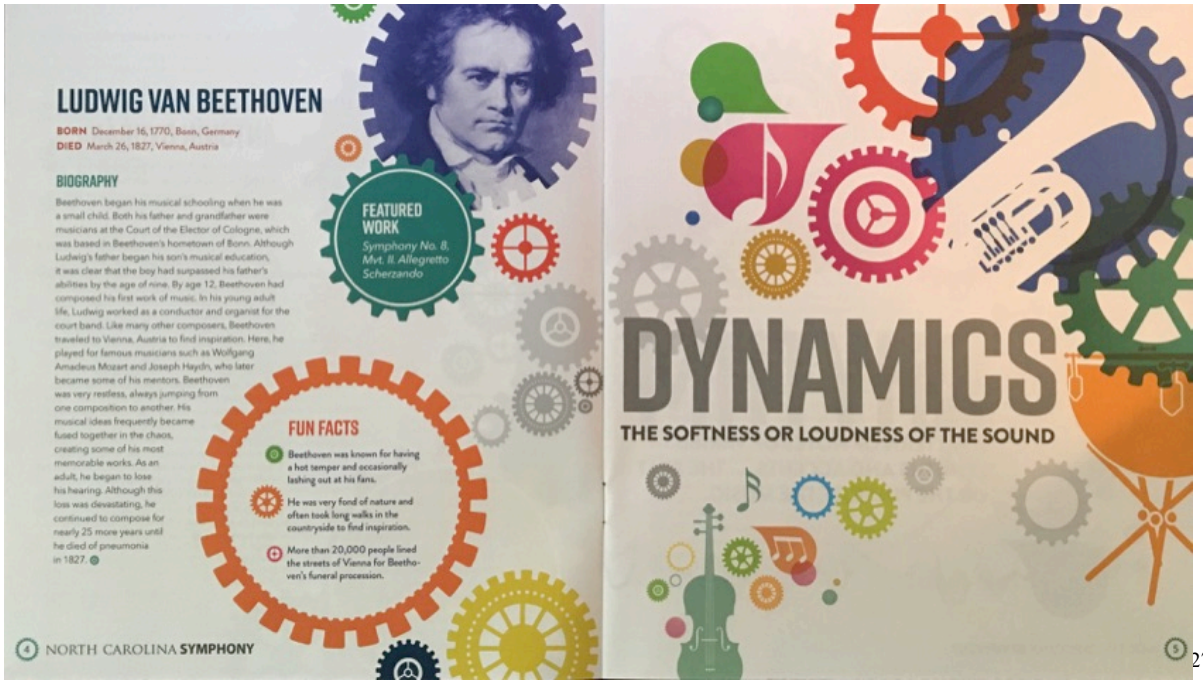
These infographics also illustrate the frequency of non-human subjects such as animals depicted in children's books, compared to the lower percentages of children-of-color depicted. While the 2018 infographic shows a decrease in the depictions of white children, the largest increase goes not to any category of children-of-color, but rather the category of animals/other. The attention to how children see themselves in children's books, and even coupled with additional scholarship tracing how multiculturalism emerged out of twentieth-century print media, demonstrates how,

[272] David Huyck and Sarah Park Dahlen, "Diversity in Children's Books 2018," in consultation with Edith Campbell, Molly Beth Griffin, K. T. Horning, Debbie Reese, Ebony Elizabeth Thomas, and Madeline Tyner, SarahPark.com Blog, June 19, 2019, https://readingspark.wordpress.com/2019/06/19/picture-this-diversity-in-childrens-books-2018-infographic/. Statistics compiled by the Cooperative Children's Book Center, School of Education, University of Wisconsin-Madison, ccbc.education.wisc.edu/books/pcstats.asp.

for scholars more concerned with children's culture, visual media serves as a critical source of representation and diversity advocacy.[273]

In consideration of the extant scholarship on child-based research and the established focus on visual media in understanding childhood cultures, it is significant that the NCS supplements its Education Concerts for fourth- and fifth-grade students with extensive educational workbooks and materials. These materials, like those for the MAH, represent composers visually and prominently. I focus in this chapter on the materials that students are mostly likely to see in their classrooms leading up to a concert. The student workbooks, as such, feature colorful pages highlighting each composer on that year's program. Opening up the booklet, students find two-page spreads based on each featured work of music on the program. One page lists the musical element paired with the featured work. For example, during the 2017–2018 season, Ludwig van Beethoven's *Symphony No. 8*, Movement 2 paired with the musical element of dynamics. Large text displaying "DYNAMICS" with its definition, "The softness or loudness of the sound" takes up one page. The opposite page highlights the featured work's composer, in this case Beethoven. Beethoven's profile includes a black-and-white portrait, birth and death dates, a prose description of his biography, and three bullet-pointed "Fun Facts." The accompanying teacher workbook includes lesson activities with step-by-step procedures and sample handouts for teachers to copy and use in their music classes.

[273] See also Clint C. Wilson, II and Mary J. Wilson, "The Influence of Print Media on the Development of a Multicultural Perspective in Children," *The SAGE Handbook of Child Development, Multiculturalism, and Media*, eds. Joy Keiko Asamen, Mesha L. Ellis, and Gordon L. Berry (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publicatios, Inc., 2008).



[274]

In post-concert interviews that I conducted from 2018 though 2019, children who had engaged with the NCS workbook materials in their classrooms often brought up specific information about composers. For example, following her school's field trip to an Education Concert, fourth-grader G told me how Jennifer Higdon had become one of her favorite composers. "I just love her music," G said and went on to confess with a giggle, "She's beautiful."[275] I asked about how she knew what Higdon looked like. G explained that her teacher had handed out the NCS student booklets during music class at school. The 2018–2019 program composers were Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, Franz Joseph Haydn, Johann Strauss, Jr., Felix Mendelssohn, Antonin Dvorak, Jennifer Higdon, Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky, and Terry Mizesko for his arrangement of Ludwig van Beethoven's "Ode to Joy."[276] Higdon was the only woman

[274] "Ludwig Van Beethoven," in *North Carolina Symphony Student Handbook*, *2017-2018*, page 4-5.

[275] G Interview, 2019.

[276] "Table of Contents," in *North Carolina Symphony Teacher Handbook*, 2018-2019, page 1.

composer. G recalled, "I mean, because on the book that [my music teacher] gave us had all the boys but then there was just one girl. So I just wanted to learn about that girl. We haven't learned much about her, but we will, eventually."[277]

As I talked with G about her rationale, she did not link her interest in Higdon to her own gender identity. By the end of our discussion about composers, I asked her directly if her affection for Higdon had to do with being a girl herself. "No," G replied resolutely. She explained that it was not because G identified with Higdon as a girl that she wanted to learn about her, but because Higdon was different compared to the other composers. To G, it was not significant that Higdon was a girl, it was significant that she was the *only* girl.

In addition to G, another fourth-grader, E, reported that he and his friend (also a boy) were drawn to Higdon during the music class activity looking through the NCS student workbook.[278] E explained that he and his friend chose Higdon because "nobody else [in their class] had chosen her and because we just thought it'd be cool to do a girl because it's mostly men. They're usually the ones who do music. So we thought it would just be interesting." When I asked him why he thought men were more likely than women to do, or make, music, he mused for a bit. "I'm not sure," he said. "Like in all the movies and stuff that I watch it's usually the ladies that take care of the house and stuff. So then men, they have more opportunities to do different stuff. But I just thought it was cool that she could do it." E, unlike G, connected representations of gender roles in the popular media of movies to Higdon's representation as the only woman on the 2018–2019 Education Concert program. He also linked these representations to how he thinks of himself, particularly how men are depicted in movies, because they show

[277] G Interview, 2019.

[278] E, Interviewed by author, iPhone recording, Clayton, NC, March 5, 2019.

him how he gets to "take chances in life" and" take chances to do different things."[279] It seemed that Higdon impressed him because she still found a way to hone her talents as a composer despite the fact, he reckoned, that women have fewer "opportunities to do different stuff" than men. He acknowledged that being a boy himself impacted how he envisioned his own relationship with opportunity.

In the previous season of the NCS Education Concerts, teachers and students also took notice of an "exceptional" composer on the program, William Grant Still. There were no women on the 2017–2018 Education Concert program, and Still stood out as the only composer-of-color. In the Norton Anthology of Music, one of the most common undergraduate music history textbooks, Still is the only Black composer of Western classical music profiled.[280] While he is increasingly becoming a canonic composer within musicological circles, with biographical histories and articles published by a wide-range of scholars, his brief mention in the survey music history textbooks has, according to my field work experience, not made him a household name among music educators.[281]

To wit, every August, the NCS hosts a workshop for teachers to attend and learn about the upcoming Education Concert program. Four elementary school music teachers from North Carolina design activities for the student and teacher workbooks, and they present their activities

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[279] E Interview, 2019.

[280] J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 8th ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010), 895, 902-3; Still in not mentioned in Mark Evan Bonds, *A History of Music in Western Culture*, 3rd ed. (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2010).

[281] Catherine Parsons Smith, *William Grant Still* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008); Jacqueline Cogdell DjeDje, "Context and Creativity: William Grant Still in Los Angeles," *Black Music Research Journal* 31, 1 (May 2011): 1-27; Annegret Fauser, *The Politics of Musical Identity: Selected Essays* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2015), 153-162; Gayle Minetta Murchison, "Nationalism in William Grant Still and Aaron Copland Between the Wars: Style and Ideology," PhD Thesis, Yale University, 1998.; Gayle Murchison "Current Research Twelve Years after the William Grant Still Centennial," Black Music Research Journal 25, 1-2 (2005): 119-54.

at the teacher workshop. The teacher who presented on Still's piece that year began her demonstration by pointing out Still's obscurity. "He's not the most well-known composer," she said, "At least not as well-known as Beethoven."[282] When few in the audience admitted to having heard of him before, she candidly questioned whether the NCS was trying to "stick in" a lesser-known composer, without specifically mentioning Still's race or identity.

Fourth graders who I interviewed in 2018 also took notice of Still's presence on the 2017–2018 Education Concert program. In fact, Still and Beethoven were the most frequently referenced composers in my interviews with seven fourth-grade students from a school in Knightdale, about a twenty-minute drive outside of the NCS's home concert hall in Raleigh. The music teacher there, Linda, based almost her entire fourth-grade curriculum on the NCS Education Concert lessons, so her students were well acquainted with workbook materials and activities.[283] Her students brought up Still in response to various questions, often linking his featured work, the third movement of the *Afro-American Symphony*, with jazz. A couple also mentioned either African American or African influence. When I asked J about his favorite musicians or composers, he first mentioned Beethoven and then added, "I forgot the name of one but there was one, like, I feel like it was like about an African one. We learned it in music class so, yeah."[284] We figured out that he was thinking of Still and the activities that he did at school with Linda. K also told me that she learned about Still "with [Linda] in school." She continued, "Every time we go to music, we learn about a new composer. We're learning about him in

[282] Author's fieldnotes, August 3, 2017.

[283] Based on field work observing Linda in her classroom on January 30, 2018 and February 6, 2018 as well as an interview with Lindal. Linda, Interviewed by author, iPhone recording, Knightdale, NC, February 27, 2018.

[284] J, Interviewed by author, iPhone recording, Knightdale, NC, February 27, 2018.

media, too. Finding people, African Americans."[285] The students did not point out Still's race or association with jazz as different from the other composers, but they frequently referenced the characteristics that indeed the other composers on that years' program did not share.

The lens of exception also came through in students' interpretations of the 2017–2018 Education Concert program's most canonic composer, Ludwig van Beethoven, because of his late-in-life deafness.[286] M brought up Beethoven as her favorite composer and told me about how she had done a research project on him when she was in third grade. She had also watched the 1992 film *Beethoven Lives Upstairs*.[287] This film is portrayed through the eyes of a young boy while Beethoven is composing his ninth symphony. The boy's father has recently passed away, and his widowed mother rents out a room in their Vienna home to Beethoven to supplement the lost income from her husband's death. Beethoven is mean and manic, tortured by the beautiful music in his head and pained by deafness and his inability to hear it. But he remains dedicated, and his abusive behavior to others is forgiven when he fulfills his commitment to compose a paramount symphonic work for the world's enjoyment. M found it compelling "that he was deaf but he could still, he was still a good composer."[288] P also mentioned watching a film about Beethoven in class and found it interesting that "even though he couldn't hear, he made a lot of music."[289] J goes a step further by linking his affection for Beethoven to his music and disability, stating "I mainly like Beethoven because of his music and his history about how he couldn't

[285] K, Interviewed by author, iPhone recording, Knightdale, NC, February 27, 2018.

[286] Robin Wallace, *Hearing Beethoven: A Story of Musical Loss and Discovery* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2018).

[287] *Beethoven Lives Upstairs*, DVD, Directed by David Devine, 1992, Eros Financial Investments Inc.

[288] M, Interviewed by author, iPhone recording, Knightdale, NC, February 27, 2018.

[289] P, Interviewed by author, iPhone recording, Knightdale, NC, February 27, 2018.

hear."[290] Here, J's comment is similar to the ways that G and E explained their interest in Higdon because she was a woman, the only woman. J said that he liked Beethoven in part *because* of his deafness. M and P, by contrast, articulate that they found Beethoven's deafness interesting but they do not go so far as to say that was why they liked him or his music. Furthermore, Beethoven's canonicity still was present in his naming. None of the students spoke his first name, Ludwig, in contrast with how students identified composers such as *Jennifer* Higdon and *William Grant* Still. In other words, he was so well recognized that stating his first name was not necessary, whereas for "lesser-known" composers, in the words of the teacher from the 2017 workshop, their lack of canonicity comes through in naming.

The attention to Beethoven and his deafness demonstrates a gravitation to difference that can be present in a variety of characteristics, even among canonic composers. Rebecca is an elementary-level music teacher who brings her fourth-grade students to the NCS Education Concerts and uses the workbook materials in her classroom lessons. She explains how her students noticed Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's hairstyle and, when using the 2018–2019 Education Concert materials, Johann Strauss, Jr.'s heritage,

> "When [students] see a picture of Mozart and they say, 'he looks like George Washington.' 'Well you know what? You're right. That is a great observation. Now let's figure out why that is.' And we talk about the time periods when they lived and we talk about the clothes that they wear and 'why did people wear wigs?' With this [2018–2019 Education] concert with Strauss, one of the interesting facts that was shared was that the Nazis really, really liked the music of Strauss. But he was of Jewish heritage. And so that was a big no-no for them. And they burned and destroyed records showing that they liked this music. And so it was an opportunity [for our class] to talk about inclusion…The kids were all looking at me and going, 'well that's stupid . . . Just because of that, they couldn't like his music?' For them at that young age to say it, is great to hear but we're also getting that social education."[291]

[290] J Interview, 2018.

[291] Rebecca, Interviewed by author, iPhone recording, Clayton, NC, March 5, 2019.

Rebecca notes two characteristics of difference that stood out in her conversations about composers with her students. In looking at a portrait of Mozart, students noticed his eighteenth-century hairstyle of a powered white wig. The wig was typical for his social standing in eighteenth-century Europe, but it stood out as exceptional to the students based on their lived experience. Explaining the Nazis' discrimination against Strauss because of his Jewishness opened up a more critical discussion about musical preference and, as Rebecca noted, inclusion. In the 2018–2019 student workbook, one of the "Fun Facts" on Strauss states, "Strauss was of Jewish heritage, which posed a problem for Nazis as Hitler was a fan of Strauss's music. The Nazis tried to erase evidence of this fact to hide it from the general public."[292] Rebecca was proud ("For them at that young age to say it, is great to hear") that her students rejected the Nazis' actions of discrimination. Rebecca's summary also demonstrates how educational materials can be directly responsible for critical conversations among students—sometimes to "talk about inclusion," as she said. But they can also make difference conspicuous.

Considering these examples of how children have pointed out composers' distinguishing characteristics, the NCS's specific curation of William Grant Still's *Afro-American Symphony* on its 2017–2018 Education Concert evidences both the intentions of inclusivity but also the pitfalls of essentialism. In the interview with fourth-grader J, he began referencing how the conductor had introduced the *Afro-American Symphony* on the concert when I asked him about his favorite musicians and composers. He answered by first trying to recall Still's name.

> J: I think he was the one that mixed Beethoven with jazz. That's what I really liked about him.
>
> ST: That's right, the conductor mentioned that today, huh?

[292] *North Carolina Symphony Student Handbook*, 2018-19, page 6.

J: Mmm-hmm [affirming].[293]

Our conversation references how NCS associate conductor Wesley Schulz described Still's music at the Education Concert earlier that day. Schulz explained that Still took musical idioms from jazz and arranged them for orchestral instruments. In short, Schulz summarized, Still combined jazz with the orchestra to create something new and innovative. In addition to exemplifying an affection for Still's music, J's response also demonstrates the powerful association of Beethoven's music. Rather than saying that Still mixed the symphony with jazz, Beethoven becomes a stand-in for the symphony when J states that Still mixed "Beethoven with jazz." Perhaps J was simply distracted, but Schulz's comment did seem to resonate in several of the students' responses.

When I asked O if he thought certain kinds of music were better for kids than other kinds, he asserted yes and suggested jazz as an appropriate example. I continued by asking, "What kind of jazz?" and his response echoed Schulz's summary, "Probably like one of William Grant Still's pieces that he turned from jazz to things that he can use for the symphony."[294] Another student, D, articulated the close association between Still and jazz after I asked him to describe a typical fan of classical music.

D: Artist?

ST: Artist? Describe an artist.

D: Like, people that try to write music so that they can combine it.

ST: Combine it with what?

D: Like jazz, like how William Grant Still combined jazz with…I forgot. Jazz and…I forgot what it was. But it includes jazz with something.

[293] J Interview, 2018.

[294] O, Interviewed by author, iPhone recording, Knightdale, NC, February 27, 2018.

ST: Are you talking about what the conductor talked about today?

D: Mmm-hmm [as in yes].

ST: I think he said jazz music with the orchestra, with the instruments that are used for the orchestra. Is that what you mean?

D: Yeah.

ST: So artists are people who combine different elements together? Maybe they make something—

D: Different.

ST: Different. Okay, cool. And that's who goes to hear classical music? [he affirms]. Cool…Who are some of your favorite musicians and composers?

D: Beethoven, William Grant Still and that's it.

But Schulz was not the only arbiter of influence in associating Still's music with jazz, as school activities, even those outside the music classroom, also influenced student interpretations. My discussion with fourth-grader K shows how Black History Month activities at her school also contributed to her associations with Still's music. Our interview took place in the school's media center, where there was a wall display with photographs of famous Black Americans. Each photograph paired with a short description of the person's main achievement and a number. K describes how the puzzle worked in this excerpt from our conversation.

ST: Who are some of your favorite musicians, like you mentioned Cardi B, or composers?

K: Composers would be William Grant Still.

ST: Why him?

K: Because he did the *Afro-American Symphony* and I liked it.

ST: What did you like about it?

K: It was peaceful and it was a lot about the string family. And how the violins played and yeah.

ST: Where did you learn about his music?

K: With [Linda] in school. Every time we go to music, we learn about a new composer. We're learning about him in media, too. Finding people, African Americans.

ST: Oh really? Tell me what you learned about him in media?

K: He performed jazz things, the *Afro-American*, and that when he was little he learned how to play the—what's it called? I think it was the tuba [Still played several different instruments, but not the tuba]. Then, he got so into music, he started performing and people liked it so somehow he became a composer. And then he became famous but then he died at some point.

ST: Why was it that you learned about him in media, in addition to music?

K: Because we were doing this project where there are different groups and then you have to try to find out what the people's names are. They give you a bag where you have to make a puzzle and figure it out, and then you win a contest somehow. It's like a contest.

ST: So if I look over there [pointing to media center wall with photos], there's a picture of him on that wall.

K: Yeah.[295]

After our interview, I went over to take photos of the media center wall display. There was only one description about a musician, and it stated, "Became one of the greatest figures in American jazz performance."[296] Still, as the conductor and students noted, did incorporate jazz idioms in his music, but he is best known as a symphonic composer rather than a performer of jazz music. Pasted above this description was a photograph not of William Grant Still, but rather of Duke Ellington.

[295] K Interview, 2018.

[296] Photograph taken by author on February 27, 2018.

While K's slippage between Still and Ellington could simply reflect their similar hairtstyles and portrait posing in the 1920s, it still speaks to cultural associations between musical genre and identity, particularly between jazz and blackness in the United States. This relationship is much contested among music scholars, and Travis Jackson offers a helpful model in his writings on the "the African Americanness of Jazz" as a conflation between race and culture. Jackson affirms that culture is a learned practice, rather than a natural practice based upon phenotype. He urges consideration of jazz musicians' various forms of music education within and outside institutions. He does not reject the associations between jazz music and African Americanness, but rather pairs jazz with other styles of music created and celebrated in largely African American communities. In discussing the associations between jazz music and racial identity, he argues, "jazz as a form is inseparable from other African American musics."[297] Here, he is drawing on writings by Olly Wilson and Amiri Baraka who theorize canonizations of Black music and Black musical practice.[298] K's summary of Still's upbringing shows that she has considered how his education in instrumental music and performing "jazz things" influenced his music making. While none of the students I interviewed explicitly linked the jazz influence of Still's music to his race, both jazz and race were clearly present in their understanding of him.

As the only Black composer on that year's program, and likely as the only Black musician they've ever learned about in the context of classical music and the symphony, students' associations with and lesson activities on Still's music fit into racialized discourses. The conflation of Still's music with jazz contrasts with their understanding of Beethoven, for

[297] Travis A. Jackson, *Blowin' the Blues Away: Performance and Meaning on the New York Jazz Scene* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 47.

[298] Olly Wilson, "The Significance of the Relationship between Afro-American Music and West African Music," *Black Perspective in Music* 2 (1974): 3-22; Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones), *Blues People: Negro Music in White America* (New York: Morrow, 1963).

example, especially when students such as J use Beethoven as a stand in for the symphony itself. While Still did in fact intentionally and thoughtfully use jazz idioms and have connections to jazz musical networks, the critical issue is that children's comments show the risk of collapsing Still with jazz itself.

But are they really conflating Still with jazz? These students recognize that there is a certain level of mastery, as D showed with his definition of artist, in being able to combine different elements (like Beethoven/the symphony and jazz). They are definitely thinking of him as a composer. Still's relationship with jazz comes through in speaking with several students shows and the discourse on jazz's relationship with racial identity is subjective and controversial. But considering how much adults' interpretations influences students' response, their comments also reveal the potential for NCS materials to offer critical tools of cultural contextualization for engaging with the complicated relationships between race, genre and symphonic music. These students' comments also reveal adults' responsibilities when they design educational materials, and that intentions of inclusion are sometimes still overcast by legacies of how composers of different identities have been either held up in greatness or peak in from the margins.

As music education scholar Juliet Hess has shown, adults can also guide students to work through contextualizing educational materials and analyzing such materials' biases together. Andrew S. Berman quotes Hess in a 2015 article suggesting how music teachers might incorporate social justice practices into their classrooms,

> "It's always important to consider what is not there," advises Hess. She recalls an Ontario Music Educators Association conference 10 years ago from which she went home with some free posters for her classroom. After putting them up, she realized that all of the musicians photographed were white males—the posters did not reflect the diversity of her classroom. She was about to take them down when she realized leaving them up would offer the opportunity for a unique exercise. Students entered the classroom and first noticed the lack of women, then the lack of people of color. A teacher may brainstorm ways to incorporate issues of

> inequality and oppression into their lesson plans, but often the issues are there already, waiting to be acknowledged.[299]

I was an interviewer rather than a teacher in my conversations with children after NCS Education Concerts, but I had opportunity to employ Hess's suggested strategy through my participatory research at the Global Scholars Academy (GSA).

With one of my classes at GSA, the students showed me that first discussing visual characteristics of composers, notably hairstyles, opened up a more critical engagement about how composer representation can be marked by systems of inequity.[300] During a third- through fifth-grade music class in 2018, I held up a poster titled, "The Great Composers" and asked the six students to make observations.[301] They first noted how the poster categorized composers by musical periods from the broad timespan of 1600 to 1950. They pointed out the biographical descriptions underneath each composer's portrait as well as the colors of text, borders, and images. They giggled over the composers' varied and embellished hairstyles. F misgendered one of the Baroque-era composers as a woman due to his ornately curled and coifed wig. I followed up to ask if there were any women composers on the poster, and the students concluded that there were not.

There was also only one composer-of-color on the poster, Chevalier de Saint-Georges from the Classical Period. Upon noticing de Saint-Georges' image, C turned to R and told her

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[299] Andrew S. Berman, "Teaching Social Justice in the Music Classroom," National Association for Music Education, April 29, 2015, https://nafme.org/teaching-social-justice-in-the-music-classroom/.

[300] The following description and analysis is based on author's fieldnotes, April 11, 2018.

[301] "The Great Composers" poster and "The Women Composers" posters were already in the music room at GSA when I began my fieldwork there in July 2017. They were not hung on the walls, but rather I found them stacked in a corner. The posters are available individually and as a set for purchase on websites selling to music teachers, including a website titled Music in Motion. "Meet the Composers Posters Set," Music in Motion, last accessed January 22, 2020, https://www.musicmotion.com/Posters/9543-meet-the-composers-posters-set.asp.

boldly, “He looks like you.” The other students gasped. H muttered under her breath, “That’s racist,” since the comparison was based on the composer and R’s Black identity. Fuming with frustration, R crossed her arms and sunk back into her chair. C turned to her to apologize before slumping into silence himself. Trying to figure out how to reorient the tense moment, I told the class that there are actually many composers-of-color in the classical music tradition. The students responded with genuine surprise. We discussed how, by including so many white composers, the poster encourages its viewers to acknowledge them for their individual talents and musical compositions rather than their race. We also discussed how its underrepresentation of composers-of-color has real, everyday consequences like the frustrating and disempowering moment we had just experienced together. Because the poster included none, the students were taken aback when I added that there are also many composers of Latin American and Latinx identities in addition to many more composers of Black identities than were included on the poster. C gasped loudly in disbelief, as her eyes widened, and she asked to learn more about them.

The GSA students were particularly sensitive to the poster’s visual imagery of the composers, especially as we began comparing “The Great Composers” to another poster titled, “The Women Composers.”[302] R chimed in to question why women, as she said, “only get one crumb of the cookie.” She went on to explain that women’s separation onto another poster was a small concession that failed to properly recognize their contributions to music history. H and R critiqued several differences between the two posters, from the amount of detail in the composers’ portraits to the length of their biographical descriptions. To them, these differences conveyed uneven value between the “great,” or male, composers and the women composers.

[302] Ibid.

As young women, H and R articulated how the posters did not reflect the value that the women they depicted—and women in general—deserved. They especially did not like that "The Great Composers" poster used far more colors compared to "The Women Composers" black-and-white photographs. One point they made was that it was difficult to distinguish between white women and women-of-color in the black-and-white photographs, particularly because they pointed out that some of the women-of-color had lighter skin. R brought back her "one crumb of the cookie" phrase, this time to express how Black women get an even smaller piece of the cookie than white women. In addition to arguing that there should be more composers-of-color and women-of-color on both posters, she disliked the black-and-white photographs because she thought women-of-color composers should have been more clearly represented.

The composer posters discussion at GSA exemplifies how visual media influence children's perceptions of music history and identity representation. In noticing race and gender identity, individuals inserted themselves as well as their peers into the stakes of representation. The students were actually shocked that there were composers of identities not listed on the two posters. Furthermore, in my interviews with fourth graders who went to NCS Education Concerts, the fourth graders' comments demonstrated the meaningfulness of how the NCS student workbooks represent composers and their relations with one another. The composer-centricity of the materials comes through in their composer portraits and biographical descriptions. Children in at both GSA and the NCS often note difference, and are even drawn to it, but inconsistently implicate themselves with respect to the identity of composers. As shown by the GSA students misgendering and being uncertain about composers' racial identities on the posters, the cultural implications of identity politics also go beyond what can be seen with the eye.

But elementary-level students are beginning to understand the stakes. E knows that the media represents men and boys accessing a wider variety of dreams and talents than those for girls and women. None of the students ever used Beethoven's first name. J, who mentioned Beethoven more than any other student I interviewed, even invoked his name as a stand-in for symphonic music in general.[303] But the most powerful markers of difference the curators of composers' representation—teachers, posters, and workbooks. Looking to expectations in those materials primes students on how to interpret those composers who are exceptions because before being able to identity the exception, the students have first understood the standards.

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated how representations of composers designed for children's audiences shape the identity and reception of classical music culture. Children often notice a composer who has an exceptional characteristic or identity, such as when a composer has an unusual hairstyle or is the only woman on a concert program. But these acknowledgements of difference also show an understanding of the normative composer identity, those who are more frequently represented in classical music programming for children through a privileging of canonic standards. Even today, media sources such as *The Composer is Dead* maintain the prominence of canonic dead, white, male composers and their heralded great masterpieces of classical music repertoire. While the twenty-first century also brings more frequent gestures towards expanding the classical music canon as represented to children by including women and composers-of-color, historical examples demonstrate that tokenistic gestures such as on the *Music Appreciation Hour*'s "Dances of the New World" concerts, have long been present but

[303] J Interview, 2018.

have done little to change canonic norms. Analysis of children's responses to the NCS's programming of the *Afro-American Symphony* by William Grant Still shows both the influence of adults' curation as well as the potential, often untapped, for offering better critical tools to young people interpreting classical music media. Throughout this chapter, it becomes clear that is it a high priority in classical music culture to be familiar with composers, their histories, and their "great" musical works. This chapter historicized how these composers came to be revered and the ways in which children understand their importance and identities.

Whereas this chapter has focused on asking "Which composers?" are part of the classical music canon as represented to children and which composers children notice, the next chapter asks "Which children?" Chapter 3 continues the focus on identity politics and their implications in classical music, but with a focus on the identities of children in audiences rather than the identities of composers whose music is being performed onstage. Furthermore, because classical music institutions invest considerably in their educational programs, it is crucial to question what value they see in their young audience members and who they see as their young audience members. A common justification for investing in children's programming is a concern for "the future," a concern that conflates children with the concept of the future itself. Conceptions of canon and canonic exceptions formed the theoretical basis of Chapter 2, while Chapter 3 analyzes the relationship between children and visions for the future as its theoretical basis, a relationship that many adult curators and even young people themselves can take for granted.

CHAPTER 3
A Seat at the Symphony Hall: Turning to Youth Concert Audiences

In her 2018 article, "Interrupting the Symphony: Unpacking the Importance Placed on Classical Concert Experiences," music education scholar Juliet Hess includes the following entry from her research field journal. She had attended an elementary school field trip to a youth concert presented by the Toronto Symphony Orchestra (TSO),

> As I was looking around Roy Thomson Hall, three things struck me: 1) it is by far the youngest audience I have ever seen at the TSO; 2) it effectively is the only audience I've seen that was not [predominantly] white for classical music; and 3) attendance by these young students who were mostly of color was not voluntary.[304]

Reading Hess's field journal resonates with my experiences conducting fieldwork at North Carolina Symphony (NCS) events in Raleigh, NC from 2017–19.[305] Sitting in the audience at NCS Education Concerts among more than one-thousand fourth-graders on field trips from schools around the North Carolina triangle area physically and sonically matches no other experiences I have had in symphony concert halls. With a ratio of roughly ten children to every one chaperoning adult, the symphony audience transforms as children chat with neighbors, move their bodies to the music, and unselfconsciously let their eyes widen with elation or droop in

[304] The bracketed phrases are Hess's edits to her own words. This quotation appears as is in her article. Juliet Hess, "Interrupting the Symphony: Unpacking the Importance Placed on Classical Concert Experiences," *Music Education Research* 20, no. 1 (2018): 13.

[305] During this period, I attended NCS events for children and young people, including school-day Education Concerts where teachers and chaperones accompanied students on field trips, similar in format to the TSO concert Hess describes. I also attended NCS events to which primarily parents brought their children, including a storybook reading and instrument demonstration for toddlers at a public library, an instrument petting zoo at a children's museum, and themed Young People's Concerts at Meymandi Hall on the weekends. The Education Concerts became my main focus, which I attended five times.

boredom, breaking many of the staunch notions of concert etiquette within the very space that seeks to educate children about them.

Hess's observations about the demographics of the audience also ring true to my ethnographic experiences. Most of my experiences in concert halls from my childhood and teenage years through my twenties involved me being one of the youngest attendees, but I fit the consistent racial demographic of primarily white audience members. At NCS Education Concerts, similarly to what Hess notes, the audiences of schoolchildren were both the youngest overall I had ever listened with as well as the most racially diverse. The racial demographics of Toronto are somewhat similar to Raleigh and its surrounding region in North Carolina, in that people-of-color made up about forty-nine-percent of Toronto's population around the time of Hess's field work[306] and about forty-eight-percent of Raleigh's population around the time of my field work.[307] By facilitating concerts in collaboration with local schools, school-day youth concerts in both cities curate audiences that are far more racially diverse than their regular series concerts.

Hess's final note that school field trips to symphony orchestras' youth concerts are not a voluntary way of accessing the classical music institution, and that this greatly impacts the racial politics of the audience, cannot be understated and is not isolated to the Toronto Symphony

[306] Hess conducted this field work in Toronto in 2012, See Hess, "Interrupting the Symphony," 13. According to 2006 census data, 46.9% of the population in Toronto belonged to a "visible minority group." By 2011 this increased to 49.1% and by 2016, after Hess's field work, it was 51.5%. The visible minority population in Toronto is significantly higher than in Canada as a whole, where 16.2% of the total Canadian population were visible minorities in 2006 and increased to 22.3% by 2016. "Figure 1.2 Population (in percentage) belonging to a visible minority group, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 2006 to 2016." 2016 Census, Statistics Canada, accessed December 5, 2019, http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2016/as-sa/fogs-spg/desc/Facts-desc-imm-eto.cfm?LANG=eng&GK=CSD&GC=3520005&TOPIC=7&#fd1_2.

[307] I conducted my field work from 2017 to 2019. According to 2017 demographic data on Raleigh, NC, the population was 52.4% white, 28.9% Black or African American alone, 11% Hispanic or Latino alone, 5.06% Asian alone, 2.06% two or more races, and 0.311% some other race alone, 0.209% American Indian and Alaska Native alone, and 0.0802% Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander alone. "Diversity," Raleigh, NC, Data USA, accessed December 5, 2019, https://datausa.io/profile/geo/raleigh-nc/#demographics.

Orchestra. Compared to school-day Education Concert field trips, for example, audiences at NCS events to which parents brings their children have a more even ratio between adults and children and a more typical racial make-up—they are predominately white. The NCS uses the Education Concerts specifically to promote another of their programs, their weekend Young People's Concerts, which are ticketed events, and to serve as a gateway for interest into classical music culture. While I have noticed several families-of-color at different kinds of education-related events, the racial demographics of Education Concerts do not appear to have replicated beyond them.

The previous chapter of this dissertation analyzed identity in terms of how composers are represented to children and the politics embedded therein. This chapter turns analysis of identity to the make-up of audiences attending youth concerts. In doing so, pivotal questions emerge: How do children get to symphony orchestra concerts? Ticket prices and transportation are considerations, as well as the people who bring them and how they wield cultural values and routes of access to classical music institutions. How do these factors shape which children are in attendance? Considering children's legal, social, and logistical dependency on adults, I examine how adults—specifically teachers, parents, and guardians—become instrumental in children's exposure to classical music and how different modes of exposure shape youth concert audiences. I also question adults' intentions in bringing children to classical music concerts, as well as in creating them.

Attempting to maneuver these various factors, stakeholders concerned with the preservation of classical music institutions claim that youth concerts open the doors of the concert hall to a broader audience, often in the face of concerns about gray-haired audiences that

are "dying away."[308] Concerts broadcast publicly on radio, like the 1928–42 NBC *Music Appreciation Hour*, or on television, like CBS's 1958–72 *Young People's Concerts*, which do away with the previous constrictions of concert ticket fees and transportation to concert halls, often champion their efforts in expanding access to "all." The NCS similarly promotes the importance that all children in North Carolina have access to a symphony orchestra performance, for example, by issuing extensive curricular materials to prepare children for Education Concerts. The NCS not only provides a field trip to fourth-grade students around the state, but also supplements much of the fourth-grade music education curriculum, substantiating its claim that is it the most extensive education program of any US orchestra.[309] But, by drawing the distinction between whether a teacher or a parent brings a child to youth concerts, it becomes clear that introductory access to classical music concerts does not necessarily have large or long-term impacts on diversifying its fan base.

The home, curated by parents and guardians, and the school, curated by teachers, are indeed two sites that heavily influence children's upbringings. Ideally, analyzing youth concert audiences would involve research within both domestic and institutional spheres. The bounds of my university-sanctioned research and the attendant bounds of my methodologies, however, lean heavily on institutional rather than domestic spaces. None of my formal research involved children or their families in their homes, and I did not conduct any formal interviews with parents or guardians. I was in schools, I was at NCS event venues, and I was in spaces privileged to academics such as library archives. My research methodologies facilitated an investigation of

[308] Anna Bull discusses the contradiction between youth engagement with classical music and its listening practices among 'older age groups' in the UK. Anna Bull, *Class, Control, and Classical Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), xv.

[309] See the Introduction to this dissertation.

NCS Education Concerts including discussions with NCS administrators, elementary music teachers, elementary school students, and my own experience in the role as teacher bringing students from the Global Scholars Academy to a concert. While I attended weekend events to which parents and guardians brought their children, these experiences were peripheral to my closer examination of the Education Concerts.

In leaning towards institutional rather than domestic spaces in research methodologies, I follow other scholars, particularly those who work with children. Ethnomusicologist Tyler Bickford has explained how he had greater access to young people's everyday music practices through the institution of the school and that "Canonical private everyday site of music consumption and performance—the car radio during the morning commute, singing in the shower—are likely to remain closed to ethnographic field research, even in a world of ubiquitous mobile computing."[310]

With the tendency towards institutions in mind, however, one subject of study did provide a more intimate lens into families' and particularly children's relationships with classical music in their homes: the fan mail collections in the Leonard Bernstein Collection at the Library of Congress. These collections document children's thoughts through letters written in response to *Young People's Concerts* that they viewed on television in their homes. Analyzing the content of the Library of Congress archives, thus, provided a contrasting method for understanding a concert series that children largely consumed outside of school and that was successful because of parents' and guardians' approval, in addition to that of teachers.

Unlike the other primary case studies in this dissertation, Leonard Bernstein's *Young People's Concerts* (YPCs) with the New York Philharmonic were filmed and aired on Saturdays.

[310] Tyler Bickford, *Schooling New Media: Music, Language, and Technology in Children's Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 18.

The Saturday air time meant that parents bought tickets and brought their children to the concert hall, or, as fan mail shows, watched with them in their homes on television. In addition to being one of the best known and most influential classical music appreciation programs for children, the YPCs are particularly valuable as they were televised, and the video camera literally turned its lens toward the audience. In the filmed concerts, children sitting in the audience are shown throughout, smiling, raising their hands to answer Bernstein's questions, and squirming in their seats.

In what follows, I analyze the racial and gender make-ups of children's concert audiences attending two concert series, as well as the motivations for supporting children's concerts. My historical example is the 1958–72 YPCs conducted by Bernstein to which parents and guardians brought their children on Saturdays. The other, more recent, example is the NCS Education Concerts (which I studied from 2017 to 2019), to which teachers bring their students on weekdays. First, I present a close reading of a specific YPC, entitled "What is American Music?", which aired on February 1, 1958. In this concert, Bernstein posits a specific concept of American music and uses his assumptions about his audience's shared heritages to persuade. Throughout the concert, he assumes that "all" Americans share European ancestry, and explicitly rejects that any Native American or Black American musical influences could be part of "our" American culture, thus normalizing a racist and racially exclusive conception of American identity. But the cameras that turn towards the audience show that Bernstein is not inaccurate in the specific context of the concert hall, as the filmed audience is predominately, if not uniformly, made up of white children and their parents. The claim that the YPCs, and indeed many other programs, make classical music accessible for "all" has historical fallacies, especially with respect to race and ethnicity.

My analysis of the YPCs questions which kids were rhetorically and physically present in the symphony hall. My study of the NCS, in contrast, questions why classical music institutions find kids so desirable as audience members. In the second section of this chapter, I look to the NCS Education Concerts, where teachers, rather than parents and guardians, bring young people to concerts on field trips during school hours. I focus on how NCS stakeholders articulate why it is important to reach so many children across the state of North Carolina. Their discourse promoting classical music in children's lives links children with the future and what they will become, rather than focusing on who they are in the present. In one example, a young person herself takes on this belief, explaining that learning about music at NCS Education Concerts may encourage children to want to play an instrument. From her seat in the audience, this young girl is able to envision herself contributing to the music-making she sees onstage.

Histories and contexts of marginalization in the concert hall limit who has been able to embrace thinking of themselves as future contributors to classical music culture, whether as patrons, musicians, or composers. The two concert series articulate different racial configurations of their audiences. Gender, however, is unlike race in the context of the audience. While white women and girls were not historically encouraged to compose or contribute to the repertoire of classical music culture, they have held long-established seats in symphony halls' audiences.[311] This holds for both the televised mid-twentieth century YPCs and the early twenty-first century NCS Education Concerts, where there is no obvious inequity between boys and girls in audiences. Chapter 2 argues that, in the context of composer representation, children notice exceptions to the canon, but this chapter shows how inequities in audience identity politics do

[311] One way to trace this engagement is through white women's roles as patrons. See Linda Whitesitt, Women's Support and Encouragement of Music and Musicians," in *Women in Music*, ed. Karin Pendle (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 301-313; as well as the chapter titled "Women Patrons and Activists" in Carol Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 202-228.

not function in the same way. Instead they highlight greater inequities in race than in gender when it comes to symphony concert attendance. People-of-color and specifically Black Americans, indeed, have been systemically excluded from US concert halls onstage and in the audience, both through legal and social segregation.[312] Moreover, analysis of my ethnographic experiences with the NCS also show that women composers' gender identity is far more often affirmed and celebrated than the racial of identity of composers-of-color. I argue that these differences continue to play out in who has a seat in the symphony hall and how they gain access. While youth concert series are heralded as opening the doors of the classical music institution, without structurally challenging *how* classical music is represented to children and young people, classical music identity continues to be replicated based on historical exclusions.

Defining "us Americans" at the *Young People's Concerts*

The YPCs are a valuable lens into children's reception of educational concerts because they show which children consumed or were assumed to consume classical music through three lenses: which children did Bernstein assume to be in the audience, which children were filmed at Carnegie Hall and later Lincoln Center, and which children wrote fan mail letters to Bernstein. As such, I treat the YPCs as a case study on the racial and gendered configurations of children and youth audience members at classical music appreciation concerts. One concert in particular, titled "What is American Music?," is a poignant example of how Bernstein conceived of the

[312] For a famous example of a Black American performer protesting concert halls' racial segregation, particularly with respect to discrimination by an organization run by white women, see "Marian Anderson Bars Seating Segregation at D.A.R. Hall Concert," *The Baltimore Sun*, October 6, 1942, 7. Anderson's actions to protest segregation are also depicted in a picture book for children. Pam Muñoz Ryan, *When Marian Sang: The True Recital of Marian Anderson the Voice of a Century*, illus. Brian Selznick (New York: Scholastic Press, 2002).

identity of his audience in his search to define collective American identity and what he terms "nationalist" American music.

Through the "What is American Music?" concert, Bernstein traces the history of classical music compositions by US composers through musical demonstrations and spoken explanations to posit a definition of distinctly American sound. The New York Philharmonic opens this concert performing George Gershwin's *An American in Paris* as an example, as Bernstein explains, of unmistakably American music. When the piece concludes, Bernstein turns to the audience to ask, "Now why is that? What makes certain music seem to belong to America, belong to us? That's what we're going to try and find out today."[313] He begins answering this question by demonstrating the associations between music and nationalism. He instructs the children to, as the orchestra plays a musical excerpt, shout out the name of the country that the music represents. The orchestra plays an excerpt from French composer Maurine Ravel's *Rapsodie espagnole*, and the children shout out "SPAIN!" which Bernstein approves. They go on to identify musical excerpts signifying Hungary and Russia, as well.[314] Bernstein then explains how folk music native to each country forms the basis of nationalist music.

But America is different, Bernstein argues, because it lacks the collective cultural heritage of other nations. Rather than a single lineage with shared folk music traditions, "we all have different kinds of forefathers," he says.[315] He explains that, while American music does

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[313] Leonard Bernstein, *Young People's Concerts Scripts: What is American Music? typescript with emendations in red, blue & black pencil pg. 16 torn and taped*, Leonard Bernstein Collection: Box 105, Folder 2, Music Division, LOC, https://www.loc.gov/item/lbypc.0162/; Leonard Bernstein, "What is American Music?" on Disc 1 of *Leonard Bernstein's Young People's Concerts with the New York Philharmonic*, DVD, directed by Roger Englander (West Long Branch: Kultur, 2005).

[314] Excerpts from Brahms Hungarian Dance No. 5 and Tcaikovsky Symphony No. 5.

[315] Bernstein, *Young People's Concerts Scripts: What is American Music?*; Bernstein, "What is American Music?" DVD.

have a distinctive sound as the Gershwin piece demonstrated, it has not had as much time to develop because America is a relatively new country, in comparison to "all those European ones."[316] He defines different stages in the development of an American compositional sound, weighing the cultural legitimacy of composers' different source materials at each stage. The kindergarten stage was first, with George W. Chadwick intimidating European composers, followed by the grammar school period when Edward MacDowell and Henry Gilbert incorporated Native American and Black musical idioms, or as Bernstein calls them, "Indian and Negro melodies," in their orchestral works. But Bernstein dismisses "Indian and Negro melodies" as legitimate source material for American music because, as he states, those melodies do not feel like "*our* music."[317] Different uses of jazz ushered in American music's high school and college years "because at last there was something like an American folk music that belonged to all Americans. Jazz was everybody's music," which Bernstein exemplified most notably through compositions by Aaron Copland and George Gershwin.[318]

The second half of the concert illustrates an arrival at a cohesive American music. The orchestra performs musical excerpts demonstrating different distinctly American characteristics, from the syncopated rhythms of jazz to the sounds of youthfulness, rugged pioneers, the loneliness of the wide open spaces in the American West, the simplicity of hymn singing, and popular music's melodic crooning. Bernstein concludes that the "many-sidedness," the "melting pot" of contributions from people "all over the globe," of American music is its true distinction.[319]

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[316] Bernstein, "What is American Music?" DVD.

[317] Bernstein, "What is American Music?" DVD.

[318] Bernstein, "What is American Music?" DVD.

[319] Bernstein, "What is American Music?" DVD.

While asserting that the melting pot includes people from all over the globe, Bernstein assumed a shared uniformly European ancestry within his audience. Bernstein uses collective first-person pronouns throughout the concert, and throughout the series, as part of the conversational tone that is popular on children's concert programming. It makes him seem approachable and relatable, even when, at this time, he was an American celebrity. This tone was intentional, as Kopfstein-Penk has documented Bernstein's meticulous attention to detail in writing the concert scripts.[320] Not only is "our" used frequently in the American music concert but sometimes it is even underlined for emphasis in the script.[321] To make sense of how Americans have "all different kinds of forefathers," Bernstein offers examples from the musicians onstage and the children in the audience. In reference to the orchestral musicians, he states "Mr. Corigliano there has Italian forefathers and Varga has umm, Varga's forefathers were, what were they? Hungarian. And mine were Jewish and Mr. McGinns's were Scotch-Irish and Mr. Wummer's were Dutch, I believe, Dutch." He continues by turning to the audience, asking, "And what about your forefathers?" He points to different children in the hall, who are now shouting at him excitedly. Bernstein announces, "Hungarian, somebody just said…Poland."[322] Bernstein sums up the participatory activity,

> Well you see we could be here all-day listing all the forefathers that you have. Sweden, Spain, England, Hungary, Germany, they come from everywhere. But we haven't got hours to be here and list them all. So you see, that is our problem.

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[320] Kopfstein-Penk, *Young People's Concerts*, 4-11.

[321] Examples include "What's our folk music?" on page 7 and "our folk music" on page 8 of typescript. Bernstein, *Young People's Concerts Scripts: What is American Music?*

[322] Full quotation: "What about yours [pointing to kids in audience]? What were your forefathers? Can you tell? What about yours? Hungarian, somebody just said. What were yours [points to another child]? Poland. What were yours [points up to balcony as children shout out answers. Audio quality to muffled to hear specific responses]." Bernstein, "What is American Music?" DVD.

> The problem is that with all those different forefathers we have, what is it that we all have in common, that we could call our folk music?[323]

Bernstein's demonstration of forefathers that "come from everywhere" are limited to exclusively European ancestry. Moreover, by using "our" pronouns to liken himself to the audience, he assumes that audience members relate to him and to each other in this way.

An exception comes at the very end, when Bernstein references a couple of musical examples from Mexican and Cuban culture becoming incorporated into American music.[324] But this is undercut by some earlier examples that specifically exoticized Othered cultures, such as when Bernstein mimics "primitive chanting in an Arab style" and refers to "prayers for rain banged out on Congo drums." Bernstein presents these examples as exotic to draw a clear line situating Middle Eastern and African cultures, and the brown and Black people of these cultures, outside of his idyllic melting pot of American culture. The typescript even includes a reference to ringing a gong to signify Chinese music, although this addition did not make its way into the concert itself, indicating the outsider status of Asian culture, too.[325] Bernstein positions Mexican and Cuban features as part of a shared American identity, but he characterizes Arab, Congolese, and Chinese traditions through caricatures furthering sonic essentialisms. The audience of children and parents laughs loudly after his mimicry of the Islamic call to prayer, a laughter at something foreign and strange.

Bernstein's emphasis on the integration of various white ethnic groups within a shared American identity and this dismissal of others is also indicative of his historical context in 1959.

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[323] Bernstein, "What is American Music?" DVD.

[324] Bernstein, "What is American Music?" DVD.

[325] Bernstein, *Young People's Concerts Scripts: What is American Music?* image 17, https://www.loc.gov/resource/lbypc.0162.0/?sp=5.

His words come at the beginning of a rise of white Americans identifying with their ethnic roots in the 1960s and 1970s, as traced by American studies scholar Matthew Frye Jacobson. Jacobson writes,

> …in their loving recovery of an immigrant past, white Americans reinvented the "America" to which their ancestors had journeyed. The ethnic revival recast American nationality, and it continues to color our judgement about who "we" Americans are, and who "they" outside of the circle of "we the people" are, too. As early as 1967 Martin Luther King, Jr., decried the notion that the United States was a "nation of immigrants," and he cautioned against the damning exclusions inherent in such a conception.[326]

Indeed, in addition to warmly highlighting the multifaceted roots of white American culture, Bernstein also demonstrates "damning exclusions" when only white immigrants are acknowledged.

Most explicitly, Bernstein rejects that any of "us" would identify with Native American or Black American culture. After conducting pieces from the "grammar school years" of American music, Bernstein posits, "it's hard for us Americans to feel that it's our music…In fact, those Indian and Negro themes even sound a little strange and exotic to us if we tell the truth."[327] Jazz was more appropriate musical source material for American composers because it was "much realer and more natural than any Indian love calls or Negro spirituals could ever be" to Americans.[328] These statements dismiss the possibility that children of Native American and/or Black heritage *are* American, but this was far from reality in the 1958 United States especially considering that the YPCs were nationally broadcast on CBS television. According to 1950

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[326] Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Roots Too: White Ethnic Revival in Post-Civil Rights America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 7-8; The articulation of white ethnic identities also plays out in the commercial and folk music industry as shown in Mathew R. Swiatlowski, "The Sound of Ethnic America: Prewar 'Foreign-language' Recordings and the Sonics of US Citizenship," (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2018).

[327] Bernstein, "What is American Music?" DVD.

[328] Bernstein, "What is American Music?" DVD.

census data, ten percent of the United States' population identified as nonwhite. If anything, this is less than the actual population of people-of-color at the time, as census data historically and systemically undercounts communities-of-color and specifically Black Americans.[329] But Bernstein was not incorrect in thinking that some in his audience would relate to his assumptions. When Bernstein mentions how silly it would be to consider "cotton-pickin suites," a reference to the setting of enslaved Black Americans' work songs in symphonic suites, as part of "our" American heritage, the Carnegie Hall audience laughs in agreement.[330]

At least one audience member who tuned in to the television broadcast from home raised concerns about these assumptions. Jane Califf wrote in a letter to Bernstein dated February 1, 1958, the same day as the concert broadcast, "Why weren't the contributions of the American Negro stressed? Weren't their spirituals, which arose from all their suffering, a part of American music and the rhythms of their songs a direct influence on the use of Jazz in this country?"[331] Here, Califf's pronouns reveal that she does not identify with "their" spirituals. But her questions show that she conceives of American identity and music differently from Bernstein. In addition to urging the inclusion of Black Americans in American identity, Califf also points out that there is a troubled history of "suffering," a reference to how enslaved Black Americans created

[329]"Race by Sex, for the United States, Urban and Rural, 1950, and for the United States, 1850 to 1940," Census of Population and Housing, 1950, United States Census Bureau, 4, accessed December 20, 2019, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1950/population-volume-2/21983999v2p1ch3.pdf. For information on how census data has historically uncounted people of color, see Hansi Lo Wang, "Installing Free Wi-Fi to Help Count Rural Communities of Color in 2020 Census," NPR, December 3, 2019, https://www.npr.org/2019/12/03/783002964/installing-free-wi-fi-to-help-count-rural-communities-of-color-in-2020-census. For information on Stacey Abrahams Fair Count initiative for the 2020 census, see Greg Bluestein, "New Stacey Abrams group seeks 'Fair Count' of 2020 Census," The Atlanta Journal Constitution, March 25, 2019, https://www.ajc.com/blog/politics/abrams-starts-nonprofit-seeking-fair-count-2020-census/Fx2hgOatiKBaXC5j1YPVDO/.

[330] Bernstein, "What is American Music?" DVD.

[331] Jane Califf, fan mail letter to Leonard Bernstein, Leonard Bernstein Collection: Box 393, Folder 3, Music Division, LOC.

spirituals to explicitly speak and sing out against the atrocities of slavery. She traces this history through rhythmic idioms and into the musical genre of jazz, but without divorcing these musical contributions from their historical roots and lineage in Black American communities as Bernstein does.

In the context of questioning the bounds of identity, it is not clear from Califf's letter how old she is or how to position her critical response with respect to her age. While many young people and even adults often offered their age, grade level, parentage, or marital status in letters to Bernstein, Califf does not. She references the student/teacher relationship that could suggest she considers herself a student—"You are a very fine teacher and I know millions of students wished they had teachers like you."—but this is not conclusive as adults also often wrote about Bernstein's role as a teacher, even ironically likening themselves to young people or students. But, as I combed through many fan mail letters written to Bernstein, Califf stood out as one I assumed to be written by a young person rather than an adult, for the rounded curls and relative neatness of her handwriting. Her handwriting is in cursive and on unlined paper, making her seem older, perhaps in high school. A more definitive clue comes in a historical newspaper from 1962, where she is indicated as a student on the Dean's List at Hofstra University with an address that matches the one she noted on her letter to Bernstein.[332] It is possible that Califf had begun college at Hofstra by then, which was only twelve miles from her home, but this evidence makes it seem likely that she was in the upper grades of high school in 1958. Either way, she was in her upper teens or early twenties, a young adult, developing a critical approach to authority and social inclusion. The letter evidences that not all audience members took Bernstein's word

[332] "Named to Dean's List at Hofstra University," The Observer Massapequa Park, Long Island, New York, April 11, 1962, 10, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn95071028/1962-04-11/ed-1/seq-10/.

for granted in 1958, and that classical music offers a learning context driven by young people for critical engagement with race, genre, and identity.[333]

Bernstein, in fact, developed many of the theories that he proposed in the "What is American Music?" concert through his own college years as a student at Harvard. Bernstein titled his 1939 undergraduate senior thesis, "The Absorption of Race Elements into American Music."[334] In this document, as Kofpstein-Penk summarizes, Bernstein "suggests that three problems prevent the United States from evolving its own national style: the lack of an aboriginal race (he dismissed the Native American culture as 'almost negligible'), the heterogeneous balance of race, and the excessive youth of the nation," concluding that jazz and the music of New English colonists hold the key to a nationalist American music.[335] Bernstein divorces jazz from its historical and cultural roots among African Americans, offering no examples of musicians or composers in either jazz or symphonic styles as contributors to American music.

With the exception of Califf and perhaps a few other skeptical viewers, Bernstein appropriates jazz as an answer to the question "What is American Music?" by emphasizing its rhythmic components, particularly through his syncopation demonstration, while distancing it from the more culturally specific components of melody and influential musicians. His thesis and

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[333] One of the reasons that I was particularly interested in Jane Califf's age is because I set an age parameter for this dissertation's definition of children, youth, and young people as being under the age of 18, aligning with the legal distinction between adults and children in the United States and aligned with the common age of transition from high school to work or college. Of course, by generally positioning my work within humanities and childhood studies, Califf's letter also brings to light the social constructionism of childhood demonstrating the often arbitrary nature of age categories and age cut-offs for these considerations.

[334] Leonard Bernstein, "The Absorption of Race Elements into American Music," Harvard Bachelor's Thesis, 1939, in *Findings: Fifty Years of Meditations on Music* (New York: Doubleday, 1982), 37-100.

[335] Kopfstein-Penk, *Young People's Concerts*, 173. She is summarizing Geoffrey Block's analysis of Bernstein's thesis. Geoffrey Block, "Bernstein's Senior Thesis at Harvard: The Roots of a Lifelong Search to Discover an American Identity," *College Music Society* 48 (2008): 52-68.

his college years have well-documented influences from Aaron Copland, particularly the issue of divorcing jazz from racialist origins by emphasizing rhythm. As musicologist Annegret Fauser has analyzed in her examination of Copland's relationship with his Parisian composition teacher Nadia Boulanger, "One of the consequences of this appropriation of jazz in the spirit of neoclassicism led both her and her pupils to separate the musical elements of jazz from its racial and historical origins in order to create an abstract component of national identity formation."[336] Appropriating jazz rhythms into symphonic music was a common strategy, along with crediting discoveries of jazz to clubs in Europe. Tracing the ideas that Bernstein propagates to the 1958 YPC audience to his senior thesis shows how long and thoughtfully he had developed his views of American music with respect to race and cultural belonging.

Two trends in Bernstein's and the YPCs' reception make his stance in "What is American Music?" critically relevant beyond its historical context in the mid-century. First, as mentioned in Chapter 1, Bernstein is largely remembered in scholarship and in popular memory as a liberal who used his celebrity and influence to champion civil rights, diversity, and the breakdown of cultural hierarchies. Second, his views have been leveraged specifically to revere the YPCs and call for their continued use in much later educational contexts. In 1982, Language Arts Supervisor for the Independent School District of Boise City, Idaho wrote to the Leonard Bernstein Foundation, Inc. to request "permission to print in our American Humanities curriculum for high school teachers Leonard Bernstein's 'What Makes Music American?'" She continues that the American Humanities program in the Boise Public Schools "focuses on the contributions of various ethnic cultures to our society as a whole. Leonard Bernstein's essay is a perfect introduction, not only to the music sections of the course, but to the whole intent of our

[336] Annegret Fauser, "Aaron Copland, Nadia Boulanger, and the Making of an 'American' Composer," *Musical Quarterly* 89, no. 4 (Winter 2006), 526.

study. Mr. Bernstein had found the words to say, as no one else we know has, what we want our students to know and appreciate."[337] Critically engaging with Bernstein's programming thus has implications beyond their historical and geographic contexts in 1950s New York City.

Brian David Rozen's 1997 dissertation in music education argues for the contribution that YPCs can make to music education in his present. Rozen suggests, "The use of [Bernstein's] techniques in subsequent school music programs and educational concerts may help the children and adults of our present era respond positively to the experience of serious concert music. Bernstein's performance as a teacher . . . can serve as an effective pedagogical model for both music educators and educational directors and conductors of symphony orchestras." Rozen goes on to propose the use of the videos in music appreciation classes and teacher training. In his earlier 1991 article in *The Education Digest*, he writes to educators, urging, "With [Bernstein] in our classrooms and our music studios, perhaps we can better help our students feel more intensely the infinite variety and joy of music."[338]

However, Rozen also notices how Bernstein's celebrity may cloud criticisms, and he raises the issue of audience inclusion. In his "Recommendations for Further Research," Rozen ponders,

> Did the Young People's Concerts have any negative effect upon anyone's attitude towards serious concert music? Similarly, perhaps the question of Leonard Bernstein as a celebrity versus that of a teacher should be investigated. Does his celebrity status reflect a narrower spectrum of instruction than originally perceived? Was Bernstein a democratic educator, that is, an educator to all children, or were his presentations reflective of a charismatic figure using even these television lessons to further enhance his public image? One may contemplate two related points as well. First, the live audiences attending the Young People's Concerts lack an eclecticism, if you will, of various economic

[337] Jeannette C. Stivers in letter to Bernstein on on June 8, 1982, Leonard Bernstein Collection: Box 643, Folder 15, Music Division, LOC.

[338] Brian David Rozen, "Leonard Bernstein's Educational Legacy: Reflections for Teachers in All Fields," *The Education Digest* 57, no. 4 (December 1991), 71.

> groups and ethnic cultures that comprise several school populations. Second, one might assume that not everyone heard what Bernstein wanted them to hear, nor did everyone grasp every concept being discussed. How did Bernstein's verbal expectations affect those who did not understand his explanation? Are we not so critical of him now as a teacher because he has become, as Henahan (1990) has called him, 'Music's Monarch,' a legendary figure in music? These queries may be worthy of future consideration.[339]

Here, Rozen's use of phrases such as "negative effect," "narrower spectrum," and "lack an eclecticism" acknowledge that the effectiveness of the YPCs might not be as widespread as is often assumed. Rather than stating that the YPCs served and assumed a white cosmopolitan upper-middle class child tuning in, he notes that the live audiences did not reflect the "various economic groups and ethnic cultures that comprise several school populations." The analysis I have presented on the "What is American Music?" concert also shows how children outside of white European ethnic identities were explicitly assumed not to belong either to the audience base of the YPCs or the even more general population of Americans. Moreover, when the cameras filming the YPCs turn to the audience, it is predominately if not uniformly composed of white children and their parents.

Yet, while acknowledging the need for critique, Rozen veils his own criticism with vague language about race and identity. He notices the possibility that the YPCs could have a "negative effect" but does not make any explicit claims that it did. He also points out the difficulty of finding uncomfortable resonances in "great men" who have inspired vulnerable populations, such as children. But by posing all of these critiques as questions, Rozen avoids taking a stance. He presents a need for a critically engaged approach to classical music appreciation and its

[339] Brian David Rozen, "The Contributions of Leonard Bernstein to Music Education: An Analysis of his 53 Young People's Concerts," PhD Thesis, University of Rochester, Eastman School of Music. 1997. Rozen references Bernstein's obituary in the New York Times. D. Henahan, "Leonard Bernstein, 72, music's monarch, dies." *New York Times*, October 15, 1990, A1 and B15.

pedagogues without heeding the call himself. Rozen presents questions as provocation for further research, but they seem to enact the very concern that he articulates of scholars being too cautious in finding fault and limitations within Bernstein's work among children. It is thus crucial that scholarship on Bernstein goes beyond acknowledging his contributions to contextualize his exclusionary and race-specific views, calling out their explicit racism.

Rozen had ample reason to be concerned that Bernstein's celebrity would overcast criticisms, or at the least minimize them, in favor of maintaining his image as a liberal and progressive educator. Conductor Marin Alsop writes in the foreword to Kopfstein-Penk's book on Bernstein's YPCs,

> [Bernstein] decided to use the brand-new medium of television as the vehicle to throw open the doors to the world of classical music and, in the process, became the ultimate musical guide and storyteller to generations of young people.
>
> Bernstein's seemingly simple objective of giving young people access to a great art form was, as Kopfstein-Penk underscores, a vehicle for dramatic social commentary and change.[340]

Alsop notes that the YPCs opened the doors to classical music and that Bernstein employed them as "a vehicle for dramatic social commentary and change" to introduce Kofpstein-Penk's stance in her book.

Kofpstein-Penk in fact dedicates an entire chapter to Bernstein's position as "The Liberal," subtitled "Civil Rights, Feminism, and the Counterculture."[341] In this chapter, she explains how Bernstein showcased several young Black American performers on the nine "Young Performers Concerts" that aired between 1960 and 1968 and specifically on the Alumni

[340] Marin Alsop, foreword to *Leonard Bernstein and His Young People's Concerts*, written by Alicia Kopfstein-Penk (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015), xv-xvi.

[341] Kopfstein-Penk, *Young People's Concerts*, 113-136.

Reunion Concert that aired on April 19, 1967. Kofpstein-Penk has positioned these guest appearances as evidence that "Bernstein indirectly proved that African Americans could be talented, educated, skilled artists worthy of being welcomed at all levels of society."[342] It makes Bernstein's dismissals of ethnic diversity on the "What is American Music" concert out of touch with the reality that he knew of American children and specifically those participating in classical music culture. In a separate chapter, Kofpstein-Penk points out how his conception of American identity was exclusionary.[343] Perhaps she reconciles this with her praises for his programming of young people-of-color, particularly African Americans, as soloists on the Young Performers Concerts. The much more prominent praise for Bernstein rather than criticism of the pitfalls in his efforts demonstrates the pervasive issue throughout evaluations of classical music programming for children that they are overwhelming and uncritically benefitting children, regardless of content specificities.

Jane Califf's letter asking about race and identity in response to the "What is American Music?" remains striking because young people rarely wrote to Bernstein specifically asking about race, but they did more commonly bring up the bounds and representation of gender in the concert hall. Many young girls wrote letters to Leonard Bernstein asking him if it was possible for women to become conductors. In fact, Bernstein's fan mail collection is rich with letters from boys and girls asking Bernstein for career advice. Young instrumentalists asked for advice on best ways to practice, find a good teacher, or pursue a performance career.

Gender features prominently in the language, particularly of girls, as they feel out which aspirations are attainable. Boys certainly sought Bernstein's advice, but in addition to not

[342] Kopfstein-Penk, *Young People's Concerts*, 118.

[343] Ibid., 171.

bringing up gender disparity, also often took on a more confident outlook on their goals and asked fewer questions. Children as young as eight-years-old sent Bernstein musical scores of their compositions yet far more boys than girls submitted compositions to Bernstein. Another frequent acknowledgement of the wider paths accessible to men than women where the countless letters from boys and girls alike asking Bernstein for personal facts and information to aid their school assignments on "great men" or "great men in America."[344]

These letters from both boys and girls show how there was not a great difference in gender for consuming classical music appreciation, but that roles striate when it comes to professional ambitions. Women can be audience members, teachers, and supporters of classical music, as indicated by girls' concerns about careers as performers in letters. By contrast, boys wrote about aspirations of becoming composers much more frequently than girls did, showing how gender inequities play out in who creates and who aspires to create classical music. Women are acceptable in the audience and the background, but they have much more limited presence on stages. This is emblematic of how changing the identity of classical music audiences does not necessarily lead to structural changes in its culture, value-system, and production.

However, women's presence in the symphony hall is also more than meaningless. By questioning what roles are available to them in their letters to Bernstein, the girls who wrote to him show their optimism for change and opportunity. While they have internalized gendered constrictions of mid-century US society, they also signal that they can see possibilities beyond those constrictions. These girls also opened up conversations and created modes of discussion that have resonances in the twenty-first century. More recently, my experiences at NCS education events reveal how educators and administrators continue to be more comfortable

[344] Fan Mail in Leonard Bernstein Collection: Boxes 393, 397, 398, 401, 402, 405, 424, and 435, Music Division, LOC.

discussing gender inequity than racial inequity, perhaps because white women have had more access to classical music spaces than people-of-color. These questions of historical and present-day access are also crucial when classical music institutions—from the New York Philharmonic to the NCS—promote the mission that "all" children should have access to classical music, even leveling it with a civilian right.

Because Children are the Future? Motivations for North Carolina Symphony Education Concerts

Every year, the NCS travels more than 18,000 miles around the state of North Carolina to perform Education Concerts for thousands of fourth- and fifth-grade schoolchildren.[345] The NCS performs about twenty of these concerts on the road in addition to the fifteen Education Concerts that it performs at its home concert venue, Meymandi Hall, in Raleigh, NC. Like many other US orchestras, the NCS receives private, corporate, and community funding to provide these concerts at little to no cost to its young audience members.[346] Unlike many other orchestras, however, the NCS also receives state funding, largely for its educational programming.[347] Aiming to represent and serve children in the entire state of North Carolina—rather than a city or region as orchestras such as the San Francisco Symphony or the New York (City) Philharmonic do—the NCS claims to have the most extensive music education program of any US symphony

[345] "About Our Education Program (2014)," North Carolina Symphony, YouTube video, posted June 3, 2014, accessed January 6, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S9iD1f9vS00&feature=youtu.be.

[346] Interview with Jason Spencer, February 1, 2019.

[347] According to the 2019 NCS Report to the Community, 18% of the NCS Total Operating Budget came from the State of NC Grant Funding and Administrative and 13% came from the State of NC Challenge Grant. See "2019 Report to the Community" link on the "About Us" page, North Carolina Symphony, last accessed December 20, 2019, https://www.ncsymphony.org/wp-content/uploads/2019-NCS-Report-to-the-Community.pdf; The Mission Statement on the "About Us" page on the NCS website states, in full, "Our mission is to be North Carolina's state orchestra—an orchestra achieving the highest standard of artistic quality and performance standards, and embracing our dual legacies of statewide service and music education." See "About Us," North Carolina Symphony, last accessed December 20, 2019, https://www.ncsymphony.org/our-story/.

orchestra.[348] Over 50,000 children from the eastern coast to the western mountains hear the NCS perform an Education Concert each concert season.[349]

In an online promotional video, three stakeholders explain the rationale behind the NCS's wide-reaching efforts and express their concern for bringing as many children as possible to the symphony.[350] The video opens with footage from an instrument zoo for elementary school-aged students before cutting to Education Concert clips and interviews with children participants and music professionals. About halfway through the two-and-a-half minute video, the NCS's board chair, Jeff Corbert, appeals to viewers by reminding them that, with respect to performing Education Concerts around the state, "When you grow up in more rural areas, those experiences that come to you are ones that really shape your thinking and can really be very, very impactful. When you contribute to the North Carolina Symphony, you are contributing to the future of the state."[351] He does not mention children in this statement specifically, but he shows how an investment in children and education is an investment in "the future." This clip cuts to a government official who oversees the NC Department of Cultural Resources, the NC state department that makes much of the Education Concert travel possible. She expresses that attending a symphony concert "is critical for every one of our children. I would not want to see

[348] "Education: Music for Life," North Carolina Symphony, last accessed July 3, 2019. https://www.ncsymphony.org/education/.

[349] "Elementary School Programs," North Carolina Symphony. Last accessed July 3, 2019. https://www.ncsymphony.org/education/elementary-school-programs/.

[350] At the time that the video was created in 2014, Jeff Corbett was the NCS board chair, Susan Kluttz was the Secretary of the NC Department of Cultural Resources, and LiYing Noell was a public school music educator in the triangle area of NC.

[351] Jeff Corbett, "About Our Education Program (2014)," North Carolina Symphony, YouTube video, posted June 3, 2014, 1:30-1:44, last accessed July 5, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S9iD1f9vS00&feature=youtu.be.

one child in North Carolina left out…"[352] In this respect, she positions attending a symphony concert not as a privileged activity. Rather, her words make symphony attendance seem like something of a citizen right, an activity all or, as she states, "every one of our children," deserve to participate in. A teacher who regularly brings her students to the Education Concerts further explains this imperative, "If we don't have this opportunity for [students], in the future we might have a generation where [classical music] is a strange thing for them."[353]

Taken together, the board member, the government official, and the teacher express the ideology that all children deserve to hear a live symphony orchestra concert, and that this experience will benefit them in the future. The board member makes the generational claim that the future of the state lies in the hands and experiences of children. The teacher wants children to value classical music experiences so that the genre will stay familiar to them, and perhaps they will pass it down to the next generation in order to keep it familiar and not "strange." With the government official's statement, attending a symphony concert is not a privilege but rather something that all children, and perhaps all NC citizens, deserve. The video cuts to NCS Music director Grant Llewellyn periodically, who mentions the cognitive benefits of "music" and playing an instrument, arguing for its advantages to individual children. Recalling analysis of the Mozart Effect in Chapter 1, Llewellyn signals how generalizing classical music as "music" and claiming its scientific benefits continues to be a persuasive and persistent defense for the value of classical music in the twenty-first century, despite the uncontextualized and often spurious evidence supporting such claims.

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[352] Sec. Susan Kluttz of the NC Department of Cultural Resources, "About Our Education Program (2014)," North Carolina Symphony, YouTube video, posted June 3, 2014, 1:44-1:54, last accessed July 5, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S9iD1f9vS00&feature=youtu.be.

[353] LiYing Noell, "About Our Education Program (2014)," North Carolina Symphony, YouTube video, posted June 3, 2014, 1:19-1:28, last accessed July 5, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S9iD1f9vS00&feature=youtu.be.

Throughout its various points of persuasion, this video implies the colloquial statement "children are the future" and shows how children and the future are often ideologically intertwined. In *Key Concepts in Childhood Studies*, Allison James and Adrian James define futurity with respect to childhood as "the recognition, in the present, of the child's potential for being different in the future and the prediction of present action on the basis of this recognition."[354] While the potential for being different in the future is a characteristic of people at all ages, James and James point out how childhood is a stage that particularly highlights this condition. Moreover, their statement articulates the belief behind such frequent conflation between children and what they will become by explaining that childhood's relation with future is based on "the prediction of present action." Considerations of children and childhood, indeed, are often disproportionately concerned with predictions than they are of children's current states.

Childhood studies scholars criticize the focus on children's futures for coming at the expense of their well-being and worth in the present while also acknowledging the realities of childhood's temporality. In this vein, Robin Bernstein has demonstrated how the promise of future children, children who do not yet even exist, has been deployed to hold up bigotry in the present. In the opening of her work, *Racial Innocence: Performing American Childhood from Slavery to Civil Rights*, she explains how a justice of the peace in Louisiana refused to marry a white woman and an African American man in 2009 because, as he said, "the children will later suffer."[355] The manipulation of children's interests with respect to the future is a familiar strategy in ideological debate and political action. But a critical look at children and futurity also weighs against the reality that early ages of life mark a significant period of psychological, physical, and

[354] Allison James and Adrian James, "Futurity," in *Key Concepts in Childhood Studies* (London: SAGE, 2008), 63.

[355] Robin Bernstein, *Racial Innocence: Performing American Childhood from Slavery to Civil Rights*, (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 1.

sociocultural growth.[356] While scholars have criticized how the view of children as human "becomings" rather than human beings can contribute to the common dismissal of children's viewpoints, understanding youth and cultural activities created for youth necessarily involves acknowledging the temporal realities of childhood identity.[357]

Ultimately, as NCS Director of Education, Jason Spencer, stated in a February 2019 interview, the biggest goal "for orchestra education is developing the future audience. Whether they are musicians or music-lovers," the NCS wants to inspire young people "to continue in music in some way in their future."[358] With hopes that these musical activities will specifically involve continued engagement with the NCS, preserving the classical music institution, then, is a central motivator for the NCS's robust educational activities. In addition to the goals of broad access and cognitive development expressed by stakeholders in the promotional video, classical music institutions want to set up a sustainability plan for their survival into the future. One strategy is appealing to children with the idea that they will become future audience members and, most importantly, symphony concert series subscribers who will invest in the institution's continuation.

Those who have "become" seasoned NCS concert audience members acknowledge the need for keeping classical music relevant for the future, but, rather than pushing for transformative and structural change, tend to focus on increasing audiences and begrudgingly updating the canon. An event in 2017 for current NCS enthusiasts and several subscribes demonstrated a commitment to sustaining classical music culture, but with reservations. Martin

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[356] Allison James and Adrian James, "Futurity," in *Key Concepts in Childhood Studies* (London: SAGE, 2008), 63.

[357] Jennifer Cole and Deborah Durham, "Introduction," *Figuring the Future: Globalization and the Temporalities of Children and Youth* (Sante Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2008), 5.

[358] Jason Spencer, Interview by author, iPhone recording, Raleigh, NC, February 1, 2019.

Sher, then the NCS Vice President and General Manger, presented a lecture on programming at the Judea Reform Congregation in Durham as part of a Duke University continuing education program aimed at retirees.[359] Many of the attendees were NCS supporters who frequently attend concerts. Sher explained how the NCS designs its regular season programming (rather than its educational programming) each year.

After giving a preview into the upcoming concert season through an explanation of how music directors choose which pieces to pair together and prioritize for programming, he opened the floor to a discussion about living composers. The room bristled when he pointed out a few of the up-and-coming living composers programmed for the season. Feeling the tension, Sher asked everyone, who believes it is important to support living classical music composers? Over three quarters of thirty people in the room raised their hands. However, a few of the attendees went on to explain that, just because they know that supporting new music is important, they do not necessarily enjoy listening to it.

Their attitude towards this worthwhile but bitter-tasting obligation demonstrates a commitment to sustaining classical music culture but a frustration with accepting its updates. In her article addressing TSO youth concerts, Hess similarly describes the historical phenomenon of youth concerts presenting "Western classical music as 'cultural spinach.'"[360] The Raisin Brahms commercial, which I describe in the opening of Chapter 1, becomes resonate here in its proclamation that canonic composer Johannes Brahms's music is "good for you," meaning it is intellectually nutritious and wholesome.

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[359] Past NCS Education Director Sarah Baron invited me to this event via email on October 6, 2017. She summarized, "Martin Sher, our VP and General Manager will be presenting a lecture on programming at Judea Reform Congregation in Durham on Monday, October 30 from 11am-12:30pm. This is part of the OLLI at Duke series." OLLI is the Osher Lifelong Learning Institute at Duke, previously called Learning in Retirement. See http://www.olliatduke.org/osher-foundation.html.

[360] Hess, "Interrupting the Symphony," 15.

While NCS supporters' reluctant acceptance of living composers does not directly challenge the identity politics of the concert repertoire, in a different NCS context, one music teacher acknowledged enthusiasm for embracing women composers. At the 2018 Education Concert Teacher Workshop hosted by the NCS, the teacher presenting lesson activities on Jennifer Higdon's "Peachtree Street" walked onstage holding up her hands in victorious fists. She exclaimed, "A woman composer, woo-hoo!" and the audience of fellow music teachers responded with laughter and heads nodding in solidarity. It was encouraging to see music teachers actively celebrating a break from the normative identity of canonic composers. However, this celebration of Higdon's gender contrasted with how the previous Education Concert's "token" composer was contextualized at the teacher workshop. The teacher who presented on William Grant Still in 2017, as described in Chapter 2, assumed that few of the teachers had heard of him and questioned, almost apologetically, if the NCS was trying to stick in a lesser-known composer. While gender difference was highlighted and celebrated, William Grant Still was not acknowledged as Black American composer, much less celebrated for it. In short, gender was easier to discuss in the symphony hall than race.

Displaying a similar tendency to embrace gender over racial diversity, the NCS 2018 Community Report boasts the symphony as "A Leader in Commitment to Women Composers" illustrated by a photo of Jennifer Higdon, but no such reporting exists for measuring the contributions of composers-of-color. To the right of the women composer's summary, the report explains that the NCS is "Crossing Genres and Cultures" that "means going beyond the classical repertoire" underneath a photo of gospel singers who performed with the NCS at a summer concert. The men in the photo are Black but nowhere in the report is there a specific statement

about race. Again, women's identities can be named and celebrated whereas composers- and musicians-of-color receive subtler promotion.[361]

Indeed, within the symphony hall, women and white women in particularly have had historically different roles and access points than people-of-color. In her ethnographic study of the TSO's youth concerts, Hess points out the racialized dynamics behind the assumptions about what is musically enriching for children. Hess writes,

> …the manner in which students of colour were obliged to partake in this experience of Western classical music by largely white, female music teachers illuminates a complex set of relationships…this particular type of relationship has a historical basis. In the twentieth century, white women often took the positions of patrons of the arts…These women played a fundamental role in classical music; they were crucial in the establishment of many permanent orchestras…It is not hard to imagine today's youth orchestra concert programmes as offshoots of this type of initiative…What are the implications when an audience predominately composed of students of colour attends a concert that affirms and celebrates the values of a white, older, middle/upper middle-class demographic—values perhaps shared implicitly by their teacher?[362]

Hess points out the often-unspoken tension between encouraging increasingly racially diverse audiences of children in the symphony hall and how this space was historically, and in many ways continues to be, patronized by white concertgoers upholding the music of primarily white European composers. Why is a practice that is so culturally specific and closely aligned with white culture heralded as something that all children not only should, but deserve to, experience? The NCS Education Concerts relate to Hess's analysis that increasing the number of children-of-color in audiences is often facilitated by music educators who are primarily white women. In my interviews with teachers and administrators, they did not problematize this issue. Rather, the

[361] "North Carolina Symphony Report to the Community 2018," last accessed December 5, 2019. https://www.ncsymphony.org/wp-content/uploads/NCS-2018-Report-to-the-Community.pdf.

[362] Hess, "Interrupting the Symphony," 15-16.

assumption was that classical music is unfamiliar to children regardless of race, that even white children in North Carolina often have little exposure to classical music. However, white parents did seem to be more inclined to promote their children's continued involvement in classical music culture. Indeed, NCS weekend events are dominated by white families with a much smaller presences of families-of-color, seeming to exemplify the "historical basis" of classical music's ethnic centricity in white-culture cultivated by white women that Hess explains.[363]

Without acknowledging classical music institutions' historical configurations of race, the NCS believes in bringing as many children as possible to symphony concerts. My experiences with the NCS reveal two primary motivations for NCS education programming are to 1) preserve it as a classical music institution in the United States for the future and 2) encourage children to participate in formal music education by learning a band or orchestral instrument. Indeed, music appreciation programs for children often state the goals of building audiences and encouraging instrumental music education. Preserving the classical music institution also means preserving the tradition of Western instrumental and vocal music education.

While the introduction to this dissertation distinguishes between music appreciation, learning how to listen to music, and music education, learning how to perform music, many classical music programs for young people intentionally bridge these two activities. Furthermore, music appreciation programs are often purposed to spur interest in learning to play an instrument or to inspire continued engagement. For example, the NCS encourages teachers to have their students perform on classroom instruments such as recorders during a portion of the NCS

[363] I do not interpret my ethnographic experiences as having provided enough information to make conclusions about the class and geographical implications of exposure to classical music from within predominantly white communities. However, in the context of youth culture in the UK, Anna Bull's recent work does addresses class much more comprehensively than my own research methods have allowed. Anna Bull, *Class, Control, and Classical Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).

Education Concert. Current NCS Director of Education Jason Spencer remembers performing on his clarinet while sitting in the audience seats as a child.

> I had started playing the clarinet in fourth grade, and when the [North Carolina] Symphony came [to my school] there was an option to bring your instrument if you played a real instrument to the symphony. I don't remember why but I played clarinet from my seat along with some others that also had their instruments. But everybody else played recorders. [364]

Spencer's memory of performing with the NCS during his childhood shows the blurred boundary between music listening as an audience member and music performance as an instrumentalist. He goes on to compare this childhood memory to what he sees now in his current role as Director of Education.

> It's crazy to look back on the audience now and see students have their recorders out there. When we go to Fayetteville[, NC], they have a very strong music program in Cumberland County. So they bring anybody that plays a string instrument—violin or cello. They sit in the front half of the orchestra level of the audience and they all perform the melody that everybody else plays on recorders.[365]

As Spencer points out, it is a special and unusual treat for students to perform on traditional orchestral instruments at Education Concerts. More regularly, students perform from the audience on general music instruments such as recorders or, as I heard once, Boomwhackers. In fact, at all five of the Education Concerts I have attended, at least one group of students performed on instruments as led by their music teacher. Having children sitting in the audience, traditionally the space of listening, while performing on instruments with the symphony blurs the line between music appreciation and education.

[364] Spencer Interview, 2019.

[365] Spencer Interview, 2019.

According to N, a fourth-grader who spoke with me after a 2018–2019 season NCS Education Concert, she understood that one of the goals of the concert was to inspire its student audience members to want to play one of the instruments that they saw onstage. She began by telling me what she thought of the Education Concert, where students from a different school had performed the "Ode to Joy" melody on recorders and then the entire audience sang the melody together in English and German.

> N: I thought that it was a good educational concert for schools. I like how they had students participate in playing some music and singing.
>
> ST: Yeah, could you describe those moments a bit more?
>
> N: I think it's good that the students are learning about the music because, you might want, "Okay, I like to do this with music," you might need to know that and then they might teach you that.
>
> ST: Could you tell me what those two moments were? Could you describe them to me?
>
> N: For the playing with the symphony, some kids from another school played "Ode to Joy" by Beethoven on the recorder. For the singing, the whole audience had a little sheet with the words in English and German on the sheet. Once the time came, you would sing in English and German. [N's music teacher handed them out to her students, but the NCS did not distribute programs to the audience as a whole.]
>
> ST: Did you sing along, too?
>
> N: Mm-hmm [affirming].[366]

Like Spencer's memory of his experiences as a child at the symphony, N explained that seeing other students like herself performing on instruments, and performing herself as a singer, made the concert experience especially engaging and participatory. Towards the end of the interview, I asked N if she recommended that others attend the concerts, and if so, who she would recommend to attend. She responded,

[366] All young people interviewed with IRB approval that necessitates anonymity. N was in fourth-grade at the time of our interview. N, Interviewed by author, iPhone recording, Clayton, NC, March 5, 2019.

> N: I think children from other schools or younger grades so that they could learn more about music at a younger age. And so if they do want to become musicians they'll be set up at a younger age and they can start earlier.
>
> ST: So going to the symphony is sort of about becoming a musician yourself.
>
> N: Mm-hmm [affirming]. Like learning about music and being able to become a musician if you choose to.
>
> ST: Do you think it's had that effect on you?
>
> N: Mm-hmm [affirming].
>
> ST: Yes?
>
> N: Yes.
>
> ST: It makes you want to be a musician?
>
> N: Yes.
>
> ST: And what is that vision for yourself?
>
> N: I don't quite know but it's just, knowing more about music can help me in my later years if I do want to become a musician. And I feel like it has pushed me more towards it cause there's so many parts of it that, it would be fun to put all of it together and see what happens.[367]

Not only does N articulate a core purpose of the NCS Education Concerts, to foster a curiosity and interest in picking up an orchestral instrument, but she also links this to the temporality of childhood that is at play in its conflation with futurity. She suggests the earlier the better when it comes to classical music exposure in her recommendation that even younger children attend educational concerts. She does not see this as a replacement for an education in music performance, or that her participatory performance at the symphony makes her a musician, but rather than "it can help me in later years if I do want to *become* a musician [emphasis mine]."

[367] N Interview, 2019.

Her understanding of the concerts' purpose links that purpose to children's personal aspirations, to who they will become in the future.

Since their popularization in the United States, youth concert series have indeed been closely linked with furthering children's musical education rather than being an end in themselves. The *Music Appreciation Hour* (MAH) in the 1930s is one example. Walter Damrosch was adamant that the MAH serve as a supplement rather than a replacement to classroom music instruction. He wrote and spoke repeatedly about the importance of classroom instructors pairing his radio broadcasts with hands-on music instruction and education. In his foreword to the 1930–31 MAH Instructor's Manual, he advises, "I can only reiterate that I do not wish these concerts to be taken in any way as a substitute for local instruction from regular teachers of music."[368] However, as I examine more closely in Chapter 5, music programs are often just as influenced by resources as they are by ideology. Schools with limited funding for teacher salaries and classroom instruments often take up appreciation, whether through recorded music or live performances, as their music curriculum. This is of course not because they do not want children to learn music performance, but because appreciation and listening is more cost effective and resources are limited.

Not all children reap the benefits or intentions of educational symphony concerts in the same ways. If the purpose is to expose all children to classical music so that they can then learn to play an orchestra instrument, then support for instrumental programs would be necessary. But, despite all the discussion of promoting children's futures through classical music concerts, in the context of North Carolina, the state government has not made compensating teachers who might teach these instrumental ensembles much of a priority. Contemporary to my fieldwork with the

[368] Walter Damrosch, "Foreword," *Instructor's Manual for Music Appreciation Hour, 1930-31*, 3, in the Damrosch-Blaine Collection, Box 15, Music Division, LOC.

NCS, teachers were rallying for better pay and labor conditions across the United States, including in North Carolina.[369] Based on the 2017–2018 school year, teacher pay in North Carolina ranked forty-third out of fifty states.[370] NC teachers' relatively low pay contrasts with the NCS's claim to have the most extensive education program of any US orchestra, funded by the state in a state where teachers have among the lowest salaries in the nation.

In my interview with Jason Spencer, he brought up this "current climate" of NC teachers and how he positions his purpose as an NCS arts administrator. Because he went to a NC university with several peers majoring in music education, he draws on those relationships to explain,

> But I still know a lot of people that went through that track [of K-12 music education] and they're still teaching in North Carolina music. I see a lot of hesitation…salary in particular for North Carolina teachers is low and it's probably one of the lowest in the country, relatively. I think that's what I meant by climate is, it's just not very favored among my classmates that I see.[371]

But as an arts administrator with resources to offer from the NCS, Spencer explains how he positions his role as helping to alleviate such challenges, going on to say, "That's what I want to do is actually help others be a resource for teachers. I think that's the greatest thing the North Carolina Symphony offers with our education programs is we want to serve as a resource to share music with your students and sort of connecting. We'll do whatever we can and help facilitate that in whatever way."[372]

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[369] T. Keung Hui, "Thousands of Teachers Will March in Raleigh on May 1. Here are the Event Details," *Raleigh News & Observer*, April 25, 2019, https://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/article229643984.html.

[370] "Rankings of the States 2018 and Estimates of School Statistics 2019," *National Education Association*, last accessed January 5, 2019, http://www.nea.org/assets/docs/2019%20Rankings%20and%20Estimates%20Report.pdf.

[371] Spencer Interview, 2019.

[372] Spencer Interview, 2019.

I admire Spencer for his service and commitment to teachers, especially those in a state more vulnerable than many. But, while acknowledging that state budgets are complicated, the resources that the state offers to the NCS still make me question why the NC state government does not pay teachers more and provide resources to schools directly. The NCS markets itself as providing a resource for teachers through funding from the state, but perhaps there would be less need for this robust resource if the state government did more to bolster arts and music programs directly within public schools.

Moreover, limited resources in educational contexts play out along demographic lines, which perpetuates the marginalization of children-of-color and children of lower socio-economic classes. As music education historian Ruth Iana Gustafson has documented, racially-exclusionary music pedagogy in US public education has led to the near one-hundred percent attrition rate of African American students from school music programs.[373] Exposing children to the listening practice of classical music is not automatically transformative, particularly when concert goals are linked to educational priorities based on white middle and upper-middle class ideals. In addition to fostering inspiration to play an instrument, youth concerts might also signal to children that they do not have a pathway to performing or creating the music being revered onstage. Again, these opportunities fall more closely along race and class lines then gender, as white women have had more institutional pathways to be involved in classical music culture, even when limited to particular roles.

[373] Ruth Iana Gustafson, *Race and Curriculum: Music in Childhood Education* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

Conclusion

Both Bernstein and NCS stakeholders articulate appeals based on a conception of speaking for and to "all." Bernstein appeals to and theorizes the commonalities of "all" of us Americans, claiming to address "all" the children sitting in the audience at the New York Philharmonic and sitting in front of television screens across the United States. The NCS urges the right, need, and benefit that "all" children in North Carolina attend a symphony concert. In their respective contexts, both Bernstein and NCS stakeholders have vested interests in sustaining and growing their audiences at classical music institutions. But the success of each of their youth concert series shows the parents, guardians, and teachers bringing children to the concert hall and tuning in with them on television have also been compelled by the promise of classical music as unifying and universally accessible. How does this promise continue to remain convincing when classical music culture's historical and discursive exclusions, particularly those articulated by Bernstein, are so explicit and visible?

Perhaps Bernstein's celebrity echoes into youth concert series today. I mentioned Brian David Rozen's questions about whether Bernstein's celebrity has shielded the YPCs from criticism, such as when those commenting on pitfalls quickly qualify them with the overall good that the YPCs produced.[374] Similarly, I found it difficult to know when, in talking with NCS administrators, young concertgoers, or teachers, I could raise issues about the exclusionary racial and gender configurations in the classical music canon and in its audiences. Perhaps I sometimes shied away from mentioning these issues more explicitly in conversations and interviews because I did not want to insult anyone who believed their work was contributing to something good.

[374] Rozen, "The Contributions of Leonard Bernstein to Music Education,"

But these shields and hesitations have consequences. The vague sense of something good allows selective remembrance of Bernstein's words, such as when Kopfstein-Penk champions Bernstein's programming of young African American performers but passes over the racist views he espouses on the "What is American Music?" YPC.[375] The vague sense of something good allows the NC state government to claim that they support the arts by sending students on a field trip to the symphony without also supplying funding that would foster greater equity in access to music classes, instruments, and quality instruction. The vague sense of something good allows NCS programmers to foreground women composers' contributions loudly without championing composers-of-color in the same way. As a result, the many children sitting in the symphony hall at children's concerts are also reminded of their many limitations to becoming part of "our" classical music culture.

[375] Kopfstein-Penk, *Young People's Concerts*, 171.

CHAPTER 4
Is Music History Classical Music?
Between Musicology and Music Education at the Global Scholars Academy

Picture a typical elementary school music classroom. Surrounding an open carpeted space in the middle of the room, instruments and props lie in every corner. Built-in shelves adorned with baskets full of beanbags, egg shakers, and scarves in a rainbow of bright colors fill the wall behind a collection of percussive keyboard instruments that taunt curious students. A bin of mallets lays on the floor, underneath a large sign of classroom rules warning students not to touch the instruments without permission. Ukuleles hang from a rack next to tall hand drums. Buckets full of blue, green, and orange plastic recorders outline the classroom's perimeter. Posters decorate every wall, announcing upcoming concerts, encouraging creative expression, and explaining the meanings of different dynamic symbols.

Picture the beginning of a lesson in this classroom. The teacher greats the students at the door. The students file in and sit cross-legged forming a circle in the middle of the room. The teacher walks over to the upright piano or electronic keyboard, prominently just outside the periphery of the students' circle. They gaze at her, as she (at the elementary-level she is most likely a woman, at any K-12 level she is most likely white) announces that today they are going to take a break from preparing for their upcoming concert and practicing their recorders.[376] They

[376] According to 2017 data, 77.9% of US degrees awarded in Music Teacher Education went to white students. "Music Teacher Education," Data USA, last accessed February 4, 2020, https://datausa.io/profile/cip/music-teacher-education#about; A different 2015 study found that 86.02% of candidates for music teacher licensure tests in the US were white. Kenneth Elpus, "Music Teacher Licensure Candidates in the United States: A Demographic Profile and Analysis of Licensure Examination Scores," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 63, no. 3 (2015): 314; MTD Reseach is the national leader in school performing arts data. Summarizing a data chart posted in 2015, "First, the vast majority of band directors at large, public high schools in high income areas are male. In fact, 84.62%...In contrast, at small, private elementary schools in low income areas, 83.66% of general classroom music teachers in

will not be working on their rhythm worksheets or writing song lyrics together. Rather, today they are going to learn about famous musicians from the past. Although the teacher only sees the students for thirty minutes once a week, she makes room in the class's busy schedule of tasks and curricular goals to discuss the history of music.[377]

Before the class or even before the beginning of the school year, the teacher may have searched on Teachers Pay Teachers, a popular resource-sharing website for teachers of all subjects. She may have found the popular printable posters highlighting one composer each month, "The Composer of the Month," who would have been a white man, or, if the historical figure was Black, "The Musician of the Month."[378] These posters come with accompanying

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our universe are female!" See Ben Yoder, "Gender Analysis of Music Teachers," MTD Research, May 7, 2015, https://mtdresearch.com/gender-analysis-of-music-teachers/; Anecdotally, as a white woman with a feminine gender presentation, my peers and mentors at my undergraduate institution where I earned a Music Education degree often assumed I would be best suited to teach elementary-level music. Music education scholar Juliet Hess summarizes—what the data I cited here shows is also true in the US—"At the elementary level in Canada, White, female music teachers largely populate music education." Juliet Hess, "Troubling Whiteness: Music Education and the 'Messiness' of Equity Work," *International Journal of Music Education* 36, no. 2 (2018): 128.

[377] Basmat Parsad and Maura Spiegelman, *Arts Education in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools, 1999-2000 and 2009-10* (NCES 2012-014), (Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics, Institution of Education Sciences, US Department of Education, April 2012) 14.

[378] For example, in a search sorted by relevance for the "Musician of the Month," five of the top six listings specifically identify Black American musicians best known for their contributions to jazz. Listing two is for Duke Ellington, listing three is for "5 African American Jazz Men," listening four is for Louis Armstrong, listing five is for Charlie Parker, and listing six is for Ella Fitzgerald. The first listing for a general curriculum of the "Musician of the Month" does not immediately show any specific names of musicians. When I click on it, I see that there are ten musicians included in the curriculum bundle, and they are all Black. These ten musicians are Duke Ellington, Louis Armstrong, Charlie Parker, Jelly Roll Morton, Bessie Smith, Sarah Vaughan, Melba Liston, Scott Joplin, Ella Fitzgerald, and Billie Holiday. The teacher, Sara Bibee, who created this curriculum includes a note about her use of terminology: "Why is 'Musician' instead of 'Composer' used? This is a question I struggled with for a while. I wanted to stay as close to my old style [of creating "Composer of the Month" bundles] as possible, but I also wanted to be accurate and have my COTM and MOTM packs to make as much sense as possible as a collective. Although several of these musicians are also composers, I decided to list them as MOTMs because of their development of certain genres through performance. If through my research I discovered that a particular person did a lot of performance, they were labeled as a MOTM rather than a COTM. This is also why you might see some musicians in this set as having COTM pages (such as Scott Joplin)." It is notable that she makes no mention of race in this statement, just the allusions to "certain genres." See Sara Bibee, "Musician of the Month: ALL ACCESS BUNDLE," Teachers Pay Teachers, last accessed February 4, 2020, https://www.teacherspayteachers.com/Product/Musician-of-the-Month-ALL-ACCESS-BUNDLE-4004536; In a search for "Composer of the Month," there are a few options in addition to Sara Bibee's but hers is the top listed product. Bibee's "Composer of the Month" bundle includes all white European composers, listed here according to her naming, as Mozart, Franz Liszt, Tchaikovsky, Franz Joseph Haydn, Ludwig van Beethoven, Richard Wagner,

PowerPoint slides and YouTube links to the composer's recordings.[379] She paid the small fee for the materials, less than twenty dollars for ten lesson guides, for example, perhaps with her school's account or with her personal credit card. She then made a note in the lesson plan documentation that she submits to her administrator every quarter about covering the music education state standard of "contextual relevancy," by using biographical history lessons to guide her students to "Understand the relationships between music and concepts from other areas."[380]

When the teacher sees the students in the class following their lesson on music history, she begins by reviewing what they learned about "The Composer of the Month." Then, if there is an upcoming concert, they will launch into choir or recorder rehearsal. The students will likely enjoy seeing the posters of the composers or musicians they have discussed on their music classroom walls. One student might gaze at the posters while zoning out during the teacher's explanation of the correct way to breath between musical phrases.

In this "typical" music classroom led by a teacher who takes the initiative to include activities on historical composers and musicians, music history receives a relatively low proportion of classroom time. This is understandable. There are concerts to prepare for, instrument grants to apply for, parents to communicate with, and administrators to appease. While the classroom I describe refers to an elementary school classroom, the amount of time and

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Johann Sebastian Bach, Robert Schumann, and Franz Schubert. See Sara Bibee, "Composer of the Month: ALL ACCESS BUNDLE," Teachers Pay Teachers, last accessed February 4, 2020, https://www.teacherspayteachers.com/Product/Music-Composer-of-the-Month-ALL-ACCESS-BUNDLE-4004449.

[379] Sara Bibee, "Composer of the Month: ALL ACCESS BUNDLE," Teachers Pay Teachers, last accessed February 4, 2020, https://www.teacherspayteachers.com/Product/Music-Composer-of-the-Month-ALL-ACCESS-BUNDLE-4004449.

[380] "North Carolina Essential Standards, K-8 Music," Public Schools of North Carolina, last accessed February 4, 2020, http://center.ncsu.edu/standards/NCES/Music/; The National Association for Music Education also emphasizes that students learn musical context. See "2014 Music Standards (PK-8 General Music)," National Association for Music Education, last accessed February 4, 2020, https://nafme.org/wp-content/files/2014/11/2014-Music-Standards-PK-8-Strand.pdf.

energy spent on music history at the middle and high school level is not significantly different. Music classes become more specialized and performance-driven, and only a percentage of secondary school students will enter their school's music classroom at all.[381] Indeed, I illustrated a music classroom full of various goals, commitments, and materials to demonstrate how a music teacher must balance a significant number of curricular and community-based tasks, and she must fit them into the limited time she has with students.

This chapter seeks to intervene in this picture by analyzing the resources to which music teachers turn when they choose to focus on composers and music history. I designed this dissertation project not only to investigate the history of how classical music has been represented to children and young people (Chapters 1-3), but also with the aim of enhancing the sliver of time that K-12 music teachers have to discuss the history of classical music and its important figures with the children and young people in their classrooms. This project is premised on the awareness that K-12 teachers of all subjects are stretched in many directions, and music teachers often feel that their position, even their respectability, within school settings is a particularly low priority.[382] Therefore, my direct intervention involves understanding what resources music educators use most readily and creating my own materials that have the potential to be used and accessed in similar ways. For the sake of transparency, I will add that this is both an intellectual and personal project for me. I earned my bachelor's degree in Music Education,

[381] Bryan Powell, Gareth Dylan Smith, Chad West, and John Kratus, guest eds., "Popular Music Education: A Call to Action," *Music Educators Journal* 106, Issue 1 (September 2019): 23. This 2019 article cites the most recent estimate of high school students' participation in US school music programs, explaining, "approximately 20 percent of high school students participate in high school band, orchestra, and chorus programs." This estimate is based on a 2011 article: Kenneth Elpus and Carlos Abril, "High School Music Ensemble Students in the United States," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 59, no. 2 (2011): 128–45.

[382] Rebecca, Interviewed by author, iPhone recording, Clayton, NC, March 5, 2019; Ashley D. Allen, "Sources of Job Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction Among Public School Music Educators" (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2014), 174.

and many of my peers have gone on to successful careers as music teachers. Informed by an admiration for the important work and endless obligations of music educators, my dissertation aims to contribute music education materials that critically contextualize classical music culture's privileged histories and foreground systemically underrepresented composers and musicians.

Despite substantial bodies of work that creatively address pedagogical approaches to teaching music history and classical music at the university-level, musicologists have largely missed a crucial opportunity for impact by overlooking K-12 music education. As musicologist James A. Davis wrote in a 2016 article,

> It seemed that there was a serious failure in the public school music curriculum and that music history was all but ignored. But as I met more teachers, and learned about the realities of K-12 teaching, my feelings shifted radically. Instead of naively criticizing pre-collegiate teachers, I began to reevaluate my own role in this situation. Am I not teaching the next generation of primary and secondary teachers? What am I doing to improve the situation?[383]

Davis points out the very issue with which I began this chapter—that music history receives little attention in the K-12 music classroom—and he takes the similar stance that, rather than "naively criticizing" music educators, musicologists can step in to "improve the situation." Yet while the practical benefits of collaborations between music education and musicology seem obvious, the disciplines have remained largely divided in US scholarship.

At the convergence of critique and engagement, the remainder of this dissertation offers both an argument and an intervention. Based on scholarly discourse and my own experiences in K-12 music classes, I argue that it is necessary to bridge the historical divisions between the disciplines of musicology and music education in order to improve the dominant representations of classical music and music history in K-12 settings. This argument is informed by participatory

[383] James A. Davis, "Music History Pedagogy on the Ground Floor," *Musica Docta* 6, Issue 1 (December 2016): 19.

research I conducted at the Global Scholars Academy (GSA), a K-8 public charter school in Durham, NC, where my aim was to implement innovative curricula. While aspects of that effort were successful, throughout my time at GSA I encountered many limitations to fully realizing my curricular and ideological goals as a musicologist in a music education setting. Rather than situating these resulting limitations as a cross-disciplinary failure, however, these limitations substantiate my argument that more robust collaboration is integral to shifting how children come to understand classical music, its history, and its relationships with other musical traditions.

The first section of this chapter, "Disciplinary Intersections and Divisions in Musicology and Music Education," investigates why musicology and music education have shared little overlap in scholarship despite many shared interests. Other related disciplines, particularly ethnomusicology and music education, have celebrated decades of successful collaboration and meaningful interdisciplinary projects. So why, as music education scholars Pamela Burnard, Johan Söderman, and Ylva Hofvander-Trulsson asked in a 2015 edited collection, "is it sometimes so little contact and collaboration occurs between closely related disciplines like music education and musicology?"[384] I trace the division between musicology and music education to the exclusionary beginnings of the American Musicological Society (AMS). In a 2018 article, musicologist Tamara Levitz reveals how the AMS explicitly rejected the inclusion of music educators in its membership. Davis's article helps explain how bias among musicologists against music educators has persisted into the twenty-first century, and he offers concrete examples for bridging the gap.

[384] Johan Söderman, Pamela Burnard and Ylva Hofvander-Trulsson, "Contextualizing Bourdieu in the Field of Music and Music Education," in *Bourdieu and the Sociology of Music Education*, eds. Pamela Burnard, Johan Söderman, and Ylva Hofvander-Trulsson (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), 8.

There are, of course, contrasting examples that show the promise of interdisciplinary connection. Musicologist Roe-Min Kok has published influential work autoethnographically analyzing music education practices in Malaysia. Moreover, several music educators, including Juliet Hess and Ruth Iana Gustafson, have made criticisms against the privileging of the classical music canon in childhood music spaces that could be of much interest to musicologists. But because the general division between these two disciplines remains strong, another purpose of this section is to demonstrate how representations of music history and classical music in music education settings often do not reflect the current trends of research and pedagogy in musicology.

In the second section of this chapter, "Navigating Music Education Resources at the Global Scholars Academy," I analyze my participatory research instructing music classes at GSA. In this section I speak both as an engaged musicologist and, to a certain degree, as a participant observer music educator. In this section, I explain various resources I used to manage everyday time pressures and priorities familiar to elementary-level music teachers; I also contextualize dissimilarities, such as the fact that I did not have to grade students or adhere to state curricular standards. Nevertheless, teaching classes regularly to K-8 students, organizing community performances, and securing music funding did expose me to many issues that music educators face. My analysis also underscores how crucial curricular resources are to achieving and shaping educational outcomes.

Notably, while I situate my research at GSA as an investigation into how classical music is represented to children and young people, I did not teach an exclusively classical music curriculum at GSA. In addition to lessons on classical music history, I also taught from non-hegemonic music traditions within the broad frame of a music history curriculum. To this end, I

found that biographical picture books on musicians from several music traditions and backgrounds became powerful teaching resources for history-focused lessons. However, I also found that in searching for specifically music class lesson plans, K-12 music history resources are largely skewed towards specifically classical music history. The popular "Composer of the Month" resource on Teachers Pay Teachers, for example, shows that music disproportionately features canonic classical music composers' biographies and posters. As such, I found that critically examining how music history is represented became interwoven with how classical music history is represented in K-12 settings. Throughout section two, I describe how I navigated my use of music education resources by both relying on existing ones and creating my own.

Also in section two, I focus on units from the Music and Storytelling curriculum that I developed with K-2 classes. This curriculum critically contextualized narratives of important figures from music history, specifically Millo Castro Zaldarriaga, Nina Simone, and J.S. Bach, and it also resulted in performance pieces addressing the needs and desires of the GSA community. I share the successes and challenges of these units, and I describe how they informed my goal of creating materials for practicing music educators to represent music history and specifically the history of classical music in critically engaged ways.

Disciplinary Intersections and Divisions in Musicology and Music Education

As the previous chapters of this dissertation have shown, representations of classical music in the concert hall and in the music education classroom tend to center on canonic white male composers and lack critical framing of these figures. While this is not surprising considering the hegemonic discourse on classical music and its canon, it is incongruous with critical scholarship in the disciplines most related to this issue, namely musicology and music

education. Music education has been turning towards social justice and critical pedagogy for decades, a shift that many trace, as I discuss below, to the 1967 Tanglewood Symposium. Indeed, there is a wealth of well-established criticisms of the reliance on Western classical music and its privileging of white male greatness that, as music educators often point out, truly the majority of US children do not themselves embody.[385] Musicology took a similarly critical turn in the early 1990s, and has since developed many critical ways of discussing the classical music canon, dispelling the great man narrative, and calling for more inclusive practices both with regard to research subjects as well as membership in its professional societies.[386] In short, scholars in both music education and musicology have been similarly frustrated by the continued privileging of the white Eurocentric male canon.

But these two disciplines' interventions and responses to criticisms of the canon have remained largely independent. Some of the methods for embracing inclusivity and social change in music education classrooms have emphasized more global music traditions, popular and vernacular music, and bridging the gap between "school" music and the music students choose to listen to or perform in their social and home spaces.[387] Much of the push towards these methods traces back to the 1967 Tanglewood Symposium, which music education scholars cite as a watershed moment in the field of US music education.[388] The Music Educators National

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[385] Ruth Iana Gustafson, *Race and Curriculum: Music in Childhood Education* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Patricia Shehan Campbell, *Teaching Music Globally: Experiencing Music, Expressing Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[386] See Introduction and Chapter 2; AMS Board of Directors, "Statement of Fair Practice and Representation in the American Musicological Society," American Musicological Society, June 2016, https://www.amsmusicology.org/general/custom.asp?page=FairPracticeRepresen.

[387] John Kratus, "Music Education at the Tipping Point," *Music Educators Journal* 94, no. 2 (November 2007): 42-48.

[388] Ruth Gurgel, "The Tanglewood Symposium: Popular Music Pedagogy from 1967 to Today," *Music Educators Journal* 105, Issue 3 (March 2019): 60-65; Bryan Powell, Gareth Dylan Smith, Chad West, and John Kratus, guest eds., "Popular Music Education: A Call to Action," *Music Educators Journal* 106, Issue 1 (September 2019): 23.

Conference (formerly MENC and now known as NAfME, the National Association for Music Education) cosponsored the gathering of about fifty people including "educators, musicians, psychologists, and business professionals to discuss the future of music education in the United States."[389] The symposium took place in Lenox, Massachusetts from July 23 to August 2, 1967 at Tanglewood, the summer home of the Boston Symphony Orchestra.[390] The resulting Tanglewood Declaration asserted,

> Music of all periods, styles, forms, and cultures belong in the curriculum. The musical repertory should be expanded to involve music of our time in its rich variety, including currently popular teenage music and avant-garde music, American folk music, and the music of other cultures.
>
> Why does this matter? Even though our field has become more inclusive in the area of repertoire selection since 1967, if the instruction accompanying the repertoire is not perceived as respectful, challenging and accurate by our students, we may be unintentionally supporting their disengagement from school music.[391]

Subsequently, the symposium and its declaration set out to change the practice of music education, particularly with respect to the greater inclusion of popular music in school settings. But, as the editors of a 2019 special issue of the *Music Educators Journal* on popular music in music education pointed out with respect to the Tanglewood declaration, "Many music educators needed curriculum models and professional support before they would be willing or able to include popular music in their programs."[392] Declaring philosophical shifts is important, but the field of music education makes it readily apparent that theory must be immediately and

[389] Powell et al., "Popular Music Education," 21.

[390] Gurgel, "The Tanglewood Symposium," 60.

[391] "The Tanglewood Declaration," in *Documentary Report of the Tanglewood Symposium*, ed. Robert A. Choate (Washington, DC: Music Educators National Conference, 1968), 139.

[392] Powell et al., "Popular Music Education," 23.

intimately tied to practice. Implementing philosophical shifts in music education thus requires lesson plans, activities, and accessible resources in addition to scholarship.

Along with the inclusion of popular music, music education scholars also trace the incorporation of multicultural music traditions in K-12 music classrooms to the Tanglewood Symposium.[393] By the 1990s, MENC had established a Minority Concerns Commission, followed by a Multicultural Awareness Commission, and large numbers of workshops at national regional, and state conferences on world musics evidenced the expanding interest.[394] The 1990s also brought curriculum guides, methods books, and national and local mandates on multiculturalism and equity.[395] In more recent years, scholars have become increasingly self-critical of how these resources are implemented and how teachers contextualize multiculturalism among their students. As music education scholar Deborah Bradley wrote in a 2012 article calling to decolonize music education philosophies, "The recent trend toward greater inclusion of 'world music' in education often takes colonialist form through unauthorized appropriation and publication, through multiple forms of misrepresentation, and through language suggesting such music, as indigenous knowledge is marginal or inference to the Western musical canon."[396] Bradley's article exemplifies a broader movement in music education to practice equitable and culturally sensitive representations of "world" and multicultural music traditions. Scholars such as Lise Vargeois and Ruth Iana Gustafson have likewise examined how the foundation and

[393] William M. Anderson and Patricia Shehan Campbell, "Preface," in *Multicultural Perspectives in Music Education*, eds. William M. Anderson and Patricia Shehan Campbell, (Lanham: R&L Education, 2009), 7-9.

[394] Ibid.

[395] Ibid.

[396] Deborah Bradley, "Good for What, Good for Whom? Decolonizing Music Education Philsophies," in *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy in Music Education*, eds. Wayne Bowman and Ana Lucía Frega (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 410.

current practices of music education in North America reflect its oppressive histories involving colonialism, slavery, and racism.[397]

Indeed, music education scholarship in the twenty-first century is increasingly critically reflective of its own practices. Recent scholarship urges music teachers to take on issues of social justice, equity, and culturally-sensitive representations of music among their students exemplified through edited collections including *Marginalized Voices in Music Education*, *The Oxford Handbook on Social Justice in Music Education*, and *Giving Voice to Democracy in Music Education: Diversity and Social Justice*.[398] These volumes offer philosophical and practical strategies for bringing critical reflection into music classrooms, whether in addressing racism, colonialism, sexism, homophobia, or ableism throughout the span of K-12 music education.

Yet because music educators also face challenges unique to their position as the instructors of children and young people, some push back against scholarly strategies for addressing social justice as too politicized for the music classroom. In her 2012 article, "Avoiding the 'P' Word: Political Contexts and Multicultural Music Education," Bradley reflectively analyzes a graduate course she taught on World Music Pedagogies, in which she aimed to strategize how North American music teachers bringing world music traditions into their classrooms may employ antiracist pedagogy.[399] She discusses unanticipated pushback from

[397] Lise C. Vaugeois, "Colonization and the Institutionalization of Hierarchies of the Human through Music Education: Studies in the Education of Feeling" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2013); Gustafson, *Race and Curriculum*.

[398] Brent C. Talbot, ed. *Marginalized Voices in Music Education* (New York: Routledge, 2018); Cathy Bendict, Patrick Schmidt, Gary Spruce, and Paul Woodford, eds., *Oxford Handbook on Social Justice in Music Education* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016); Lisa C. Delorenzo, ed., *Giving Voice to Democracy in Music Education: Diversity and Social Justice* (New York: Routledge, 2016).

[399] Deborah Bradley, ""Avoiding the 'P' Word: Political Contexts and Multicultural Music Education." *Theory Into Practice* 51, 3 (2012): 188-195.

some of the white students, such as when one asked, "How can we engage in musics outside of the accepted canon and talk about these kinds of issues without being accused by parents or administrators of being 'political?'."[400] Bradley interprets this desire to avoid politics as a veiled way of avoiding race talk and evading the issue of white privilege by citing fear of reprisal from children's caretakers.[401] In contrast to the Tanglewood Symposium's Declaration of changing music education practices to appeal to young people, Bradley's work demonstrates that ethics and social justice have become more urgent motivations among music educators. Her graduate student's words also exemplify a belief that this dissertation works explicitly against: that only "musics outside of the accepted canon" are considered to be political.

Music education scholarship has indeed offered critically informed strategies to teaching non-hegemonic musical traditions, but critical approaches to the Western classical canon in music education contexts is more emergent. Unlike the turn to popular music and world music, there has not been the large supply of method books, lesson plans, and resources that is clearly necessary for making change within the practice of music education. Juliet Hess's work offers some inroads. Hess focuses most of her research on critical pedagogies of non-hegemonic music traditions in music education classrooms, but she also explicitly addresses the contextualization of classical music.[402] Even amidst the persistent privileging of classical music over other musical traditions in music education classrooms, Hess explains, "That doesn't mean you avoid classical music with students…It does mean that when you focus on classical music, you can take the

[400] Bradley, "Avoiding the 'P' Word," 189.

[401] As Bradley writes, "By subsuming race into the umbrella term political, and by associating political talk with the fear of sanctions against teachers, politics and racially charged histories remain socially and pedagogically unacceptable for classroom discussion." Bradley, "Avoiding the 'P' Word," 193.

[402] Juliet Luisa Hess, "Radical Musicking: Challenging Dominant Paradigms in Elementary Music Education" PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2013; Juliet Hess, *Music Education for Social Change* (New York: Routledge, 2019).

opportunity to explore with the students why that music has come to be the dominant music in music education."[403] Hess has also analyzed the racial and cultural politics of classical music concert field trips for elementary school students.[404] However, more generally, Hess's work exemplifies how critical pedagogy in music education is primarily focused on musics from outside the classical music canon.

Another indication of the emergence of critical approaches to the canon in music education settings comes in online resources and practically-minded articles on incorporating composers of diverse race, cultural, and gender identities into the classroom.[405] Online platforms including Music by Black Composers and Music Theory Examples by Women have issued resources that can be immediately implemented into K-12 music classrooms, showing promise for directly impacting music classrooms' representations of composers. Music by Black Composers has an introductory violin method book including supplemental audio, video, and informational resources.[406] Music Theory Examples by Women issues Female Composers posters sets with online companion lesson activities and playlists.[407] The Sphinx Organization, a Detroit-based social justice organization increasing diversity, particularly racial diversity, in

[403] Berman quotes Hess in Andrew S. Berman, "Teaching Social Justice in the Music Classroom," National Association for Music Education, April 29, 2015, https://nafme.org/teaching-social-justice-in-the-music-classroom/.

[404] Juliet Hess, "Interrupting the Symphony: Unpacking the Importance Placed on Classical Concert Experiences," *Music Education Research* 20, no. 1 (2018): 11-21.

[405] Miriam Capellan, "It's Elementary! Women Composers in K-5 Music Classrooms," National Association for Music Education, December 18, 2019, https://nafme.org/its-elementary-women-composers-k-5-music-classrooms/; Solvejg Wastvedt, "Why this High School Band is Buying Music from Composers of Color this Year," National Public Radio, February 18, 2017, https://www.npr.org/sections/ed/2017/02/18/509133975/why-this-high-school-band-is-only-buying-music-from-composers-of-color.

[406] "Educational Resources," Music by Black Composers, last accessed March 14, 2020, https://www.musicbyblackcomposers.org/resources/.

[407] "24 Composer Posters Set with Online Companion," Music Theory Examples by Women, last accessed March 14, 2020, https://musictheoryexamplesbywomen.com/product/24-set/.

classical music performance and repertoire, has an interactive online platform with activities on composers-of-color called SphinxKids.[408] On June 15, 2019, the Institute for Composer Diversity launched an online video series foregrounding women and composers-of-color in an immediately usable medium for K-12 music teachers.[409]

In my personal experience, I had some issues with access to these resources. At the time that I searched for the Music by Black Composers resources, the webpage displayed that they were "temporarily unavailable from all outlets."[410] Moreover, my classroom at GSA did not involve violin pedagogy. When I tried to access the SphinxKids online activities, I had trouble downloading the correct Macromedia Flash Player necessary to use this platform. I also did not have the classroom technology in the small music room at GSA to have used this platform with my students if I had been able to access it. The Music Theory Examples by Women Female Composer Posters and the Institute for Composer Diversity videos emerged while I was conducting my research and I found them largely after concluding my classes at GSA.[411] To some extent, these are excuses that I could have worked around if I had tried harder.

But these issues also demonstrate how and why it is difficult to shift dominant trends in composer representation within music education spaces. There are further resources, such as the

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[408] "Sphinx Kids," Sphinx Kids, last accessed February 7, 2020, http://www.sphinxkids.org.

[409] The Institute for Composer Diversity launched Exposure TV as a YouTube channel in 2019. "Exposure TV is a video series dedicated to showcasing music written by composers of marginalized identities while capturing the stories of the unique artists behind the performance." See "Exposure," YouTube, last accessed March 14, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCecufrgNc_kuH2SD3ECqv1A.

[410] Educational Resources," Music by Black Composers.

[411] Music Theory Examples by Women began in 2017. By August 14, 2018, they had released and made an update to the Female Composer Poster sets. Music Theory Examples by Women, "Check out the new additions to the Female Composer Poster series…" Facebook, August 14, 2018, https://www.facebook.com/musictheoryexamplesbywomen/?__tn__=%2Cdk%2CP-R&eid=ARBZ3ztZX5mhZIXLG03cDi_rgdku6U0eNmFLGrSGoQGWuEKwl7gEX1x4KI4WcsQytcx9sHy7pziqEoOk.

Institute for Composer Diversity's composer diversity database, available that music teachers can access if they want to create their own lesson plans, composer posters, etc.[412] However, it tends to take a special interest or concern with identity diversity in order for teachers to seek out and access these resources. I learned of the resources mentioned here through my connections with other academics, but none of the music teachers or NCS education personnel I spoke with mentioned any of these to me. In fact, one music teacher who I interviewed explained that she did not see any overlap between the symphonic music on the NCS Education Concerts and Black History Month.[413] This is another example demonstrating that just because there is a classroom resource or extant knowledge on Black composers, it does not mean it is widely impacting the way music teachers introduce classical music to their students. Wide reaching, easy-to-access resources that become well-known within the circles of those who are directly working with children are necessary for broader transformation.

Musicologists have much potential to expand the resources for critical approaches to the classical music canon available for music educators. As an example of the successes of interdisciplinary impact, a core component of the expansion of multicultural and world music approaches to music education has come as the result of long-established collaborations between music educators and ethnomusicologists. From the work of the Education Section of the Society for Ethnomusicology to the career-long work of Patricia Shahan Campbell, who is dually appointed in Music Education and Ethnomusicology at the University of Washington, along with other ethnomusicologists who have focused their careers on creating usable resources for music

[412] "Composer Diversity Database," Institute for Composer Diversity, last accessed March 14, 2020, https://www.composerdiversity.com/composer-diversity-database.

[413] Jackie, interviewed by author, iPhone recording, Knightdale, NC, May 24, 2019.

educators, the practices of teaching global music traditions in K-12 settings are largely influenced and informed by the disciplinary contributions of ethnomusicology.[414]

Why, then, has the discipline of musicology been reluctant to similarly embrace interdisciplinary work with music education? Davis articulates an underlying attitude he senses among musicologists, writing in 2016,

> At the risk of offending any of my colleagues, I fear that college-level musicologists can be somewhat disdainful or dismissive of those who teach in primary and secondary schools without understanding the unique circumstance facing these teachers and the constraints under which they work. It is not a simple matter to translate a college-level music appreciation course into something suitable for high school students. Indeed, it is arrogant and naïve for college history teachers to assume they know how to work with young students, that teaching middle school general music is somehow "easier" than teaching a college course. K-12 teachers face challenges that college teachers seldom encounter, most of which have a direct impact on the inclusion of music history into their curricula.[415]

Davis continues in his article to urge more collaboration between the two disciplines, and he proposes that musicologists should work to contribute to the ways music educators teach music history in their K-12 classes. He calls on musicologists to take some of the burden off of music educators and practicing music teachers, situating such efforts into a broader concern for outreach within musicology. Indeed, K-12 education is a large, untapped venue for musicologists to spread the impact of their work, but dismissive attitudes towards music education as a discipline have prevented many inroads.

Musicologists, as Davis wrote, are "somewhat disdainful or dismissive" in their reluctance to embrace music education, and such reluctance links to US musicology's disciplinary history of elitism and exclusion. In her 2018 study of US musicology's

[414] Campbell, *Teaching Music Globally*; Danielle Brown, "Message from the Founder," My People Tell Stories, last accessed February 7, 2020, http://www.mypeopletellstories.com/about-1.

[415] Davis, "Music History Pedagogy on the Ground Floor," 20.

establishment as a professional discipline during the 1930s, musicologist Tamara Levitz documents how the founders of the American Musicological Society (AMS) intentionally excluded music educators from the society's professional membership. Levitz summarizes the impact of this move, writing, "As the AMS gradually severed its ties to the Music Teacher's National Association, it lost the potential membership and collaboration of a wide range of music teachers—many of them women—across the country. They also lost the intrinsic connection between their enterprise and music pedagogy, as well as access to established institutional mechanisms for insuring curricular norms and change."[416]

The impacts of this move have been long-lasting. In line with Davis's 2016 article on the contemporary state of musicology demonstrates, I have also felt the dismissive attitude towards music education in my own research practices. When I began this dissertation project, I felt pressure to distinguish my work on the listening-focused practice of music appreciation from the performance-focused practice of music education. I was concerned that my work would be mistaken for music education in the eyes of musicologists and would cost me credibility, research funding, or career opportunities. Notably, I did not feel similar concerns for other interdisciplinary implications of my work, such as the methodological overlap with ethnomusicology or the theoretical overlap with cultural studies. Rather, I believe that my impulse to make my work distinct from music education was rooted in the somewhat nebulous notions that music education is not as rigorous or respected as musicology among musicologists. Tracing my experience to an exclusionary professional history allows me, now, to recognize—and emphasize—the value of asserting the interdisciplinary implication of my dissertation work.

[416] Tamara Levitz, "The Musicological Elite," *Current Musicology* 102 (Spring 2018): 27.

Moreover, musicologists and music educators share many practical overlaps, particularly the pathway of students seeking collegiate-level music degrees. Musicologists tend to have rich personal backgrounds in performing music during their childhoods. Indeed, childhood education in classical music is almost a necessity for becoming a musicologist. However, by not critically examining music education practices, musicologists can avoid facing the systemic biases of their professional pipeline. As a contrasting example, musicologist Roe-Min Kok's autoethnographic research turns precisely to the colonizing practices of her own classical music upbringing as a young pianist in Malaysia.[417] While Kok's critical approach to her own childhood and music education remains rare within musicological circles, her work also demonstrates the promise, not only to music education but also to musicology, of reflective interdisciplinary research. Furthermore, her essay was reprinted in a 2011 collection edited by music education scholar Lucy Green, demonstrating an inroad of interdisciplinary publication.[418]

To be sure, there are venues of interdisciplinary work between music educators and musicologists, but these tend to be limited to the pedagogy within collegiate education, rather than that leading up to it. The College Music Society is a professional society that hosts annual conferences well-attended by musicologists and music educators alike, for example.[419] Its focus on "College" level teaching, however, shows how such interdisciplinary connections are not focused on K-12 settings. The Pedagogy Study Group of the AMS likewise demonstrates a broad interest among musicologists in their educational work, but again with respect to university

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[417] Roe-Min Kok, "Music for a Postcolonial Child: Theorizing Malaysian Memories," in *Musical Childhoods and the Cultures of Youth*, ed. Susan Boynton and Roe-Min Kok (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2006), 89-104.

[418] Roe-Min Kok, "Music for a Postcolonial Child: Theorizing Malaysian Memories," in *Learning, Teaching, and Musical Identity: Voices Across Cultures*, ed. Lucy Green (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), 73-90.

[419] "Sixty-Third National Conference (2020)," The College Music Society, last accessed February 8, 2020, https://www.music.org/index.php?option=com_eventbooking&view=event&id=90&catid=1&Itemid=3524.

education.[420] As additional examples, edited collections including *Teaching Music History* and *The Music History Classroom* do not include strategies for teaching earlier than college.[421]

Even more urgent than the reckoning based on scholarship that this dissertation in musicology needed to embrace its interdisciplinary connections with K-12 music education, was the practical reality of how my research at GSA took shape. By doing community-engaged research on music in a K-12 educational setting, much of my work ended up looking like music education. Methodologically and with respect to research funding, I positioned my work as participatory research, and I situated it with respect to music history, music appreciation, and critical pedagogy. But, in effect, facilitating my research as a musicologist seeking to make interdisciplinary and public-facing contributions at GSA made me become something of a part-time music educator.

Navigating Music Education Resources at the Global Scholars Academy

During my time at GSA, there was no standard music curriculum for students in any of the K-8 grades, and many students received no music instruction at all. Because of this, I did not solely implement curricula on classical music. Rather, I situated classes or lessons on classical music traditions alongside several additional music traditions. This made the days that I did

[420] "Teaching Music History: Pedagogy Study Group of the American Musicological Society," last accessed February 8, 2020, http://www.teachingmusichistory.com; This study group hosts conferences on "Teaching Music History," which I have participated in. When I presented at this conference, I gave a paper on my early fieldwork with fourth-grade students and their teacher who had attended a North Carolina Symphony Education Concert. My colleagues at the conference were receptive and encouraging of this work, validating its belonging within the context of the conference. However, all of the other papers were focused on teaching music history at the college-level, and primarily pertained to the scholars' teaching responsibilities rather than their research. Even James A. Davis, who I have cited throughout this chapter, is primarily a scholar on music of the Civil War that has made his main research contributions outside of field related to pedagogy, education or children and young people.

[421] Mary Natvig, ed., *Teaching Music History* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2002); James A. Davis, ed., *The Music History Classroom* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012).

focus on classical music particularly valuable with respect to my research, but I did not emphasize the importance of this strategy among my students. Rather, it would be counter to my efforts, and in fact hypocritical of the criticisms I wield especially in Chapter 1, to have made classical music lessons seem more valuable than our lessons on popular music, jazz, folk music, Latin music, and world music traditions. In line with music education scholar Juliet Hess's suggestions, I aimed to position classical music as "a" music within a broader and more diverse study of musical traditions.[422] Thus, while it was not the original intention of this research, I did navigate what it meant to create a (somewhat) comprehensive music curriculum for primarily K-5 students. Yet in expanding the curriculum to be more comprehensive, I struggled to stay connected to my sense of purpose as both a collaborative researcher and a scholar asking questions about representation specific to one music tradition. I also found that the narrow, original intention of my work seemed convoluted and perhaps even insincere when I explained it to my GSA collaborators. As such, it became critical that I find a way to frame my research with GSA beyond the specific question of how classical music is represented to children and young people.

Rather than *classical music* education, I framed my participatory research and curriculum collaboration with GSA as *music history* education and representation. We began a Music and Storytelling class for K-1 students in 2017, which eventually expanded to include K-2 students. This curriculum uses primarily biographical picture books to introduce the students to famous musicians from the past. By the beginning of 2018, we also started a class for select third- through fifth-grade students which led to a Music History Recorder Karate curriculum. Music History Recorder Karate sequenced tunes with historical and cultural significance in increasing

[422] Hess, "Interrupting the Symphony," 17-18.

difficulty to pair with "belts" in the style of karate. Both curricula intentionally use formats that are familiar to music educators—children's picture books and the popular general music curriculum of Recorder Karate.[423] In the last year of my involvement at GSA, I also started a flute class for sixth- and seventh-grade students, which continued as they moved up to seventh- and eighth-grade. The intention of the flute class was similar to that of Music History Recorder Karate, in its aim to teach the flute through a variety of music repertoires while critically engaging with the history of US instrumental music education's reliance on the classical music tradition.

Throughout my time with GSA, and most pointedly during the peak of our collaboration between January and June 2019, I felt my position and responsibilities in many ways overlapped with those of a typical elementary music teacher. From January–June 2019, about half of the school's student population of two-hundred students was taking part in one of my music classes, including students from all grades between kindergarten and seventh grade. I did not work with any eighth graders in music classes during this time, but I did facilitate guest artist workshops that involved eighth-grade students. Some of the responsibilities that felt akin to a music teacher included developing regular lesson plans for students in a wide range of grade levels, coordinating community performances, communicating with other teachers and administrators about schedules and budgets, and communicating with parents and guardians. However, my role also had exceptions to a curricular music teacher, in that administrators did not ask me to adhere to state curricular standards. I often only taught select students rather than entire grade-level classes, and I did not have to issue grades. I only taught as part of the extended-day schedule

[423] Adam Perlmutter, "General Music: A Black Belt in Recorder Playing?" *Teaching Music* 17, issue 6 (April 2010): 52.

rather than the curricular school day, and knowing that my role was temporary gave me greater freedom in experimenting.[424]

April 26, 2017 marked my first meeting at GSA, when my dissertation advisor, two other graduate students, and I met with GSA's assistant head-of-school. During this meeting, I presented a curriculum of shifting themes and units, which I had drafted earlier in February.

[424] GSA is a year round school with full day long school days. The students are at school from 7:30 am to 6:00 pm. The curricular school day ends around 3:00 or 4:00 pm, depending on the grade level. Extended day runs from that time until the students are dismissed at 6:00 pm.

Last Updated February 14, 2017

Music Appreciation at the Global Scholars Academy

- 12-week syllabus with 4 units of 3 weeks each. Designed with 6th grade students in mind, but can be adjusted for other age groups

- In every lesson, students will
  1. Make music (music pedagogy)
  2. Learn about context, critical awareness (critical pedagogy)
  3. Create something new (composition)

- End of curriculum goal: Concert.
  The students will perform five pieces of music at the concert. Each of the four units of the curriculum centers on one piece. The students will rehearse all pieces throughout the 12 weeks but lesson content will be geared to elaborating the context of specific pieces in each unit. The fifth piece is a student composition that the students have composed cumulatively throughout the 12 weeks.

- While units are organized thematically rather than according to genre, I specifically found songs in (1) U.S. popular culture, (2) music of the African diaspora, (3) Western classical music, and (4) Latinx/Latin American music.

SYLLABUS

UNIT ONE: **Music and Storytelling**
Weeks 1-3
Listening to music that tells stories, myths, and tales

Song focus: "How Far I'll Go" by Lin-Manuel Miranda and Opetaia from *Moana* soundtrack, which is currently the number one Kid Album on Billboard chart

Critical consciousness: Music can be used in moralistic ways, becoming critically conscious of lessons learned—who's interests do they serve? Often music in films is storytelling music: can teach both helpful lessons about friendship and hurtful lessons about power relations. Maybe an example from *Necessary Noise* about music/cartoon/film being used for colonialist purposes.

Activities: Listening to storytelling music from a variety of musical traditions such as *Peter and the Wolf* by Prokofiev (classical), listen to a piece of music and write a story about it, listen to a story and write a melody for it

UNIT TWO: **Musicians on the Run**
(Inspired by Girls on the Run initiative at GSA)
Weeks 4-6
Listening to musicians who have traveled and how travel affects music

Last Updated February 14, 2017

Song focus: Zap Mama's "Miss Q'n"

Critical consciousness: Reasons for movement by choice and by force. Histories of immigration, colonialism, slave trade and their musical manifestations. Maybe look at song lyrics about different kinds of movement conditions, can definitely cross genres. Also positive reasons that people/musicians move, such as for education or because they are successfully touring

Activities: musician maps, students' maps of their own lives/family's lives, instrument maps (like the banjo), might be interesting to show history of harmonium which is now associated with Indian classical music but was invented in France

UNIT THREE: **Pictures in Music**
Weeks 7-9
Understanding how music can suggest specific images and the imagination. Sometimes called impressionism in Western culture—what is it called in other cultural contexts?

Song focus: Melodies from *The American Scene* by William Grant Still

Critical consciousness: Another work by William Grant Still is more famous, called *Afro-American Symphony*. Lesson about how Still had to be more strategic than white peers about path to success. Discussing tokenism, racial pride, black music traditions in classical music, early 20th century race relations in US and especially classical music spaces. Thinking about uplifting and harmful ways music represents specific images and ideas. Asking how we would represent ourselves in music.

Activities: students listen to a piece of music and draw what they hear, learn about word painting, compose musical self-portraits

UNIT FOUR: **Music of Play**
Weeks 10-12
How does music integrate with playful activity? Where is music in students' everyday lives of play and learning?

Song focus: "Al La Lata Al Latero," a jumping rope song in Spanish

Critical consciousness: Valuing young people and their ideas. Encouraging students to believe that their musical creativities are powerful. Kyra Gaunt's argument that the games that black girls play has had a huge impact on black music traditions such as hip-hop. Maybe capoeira: why enslaved African people in Brazil had to veil their martial arts as "play"

Activities: playing musical games from a variety of genres and traditions, can students come up with their own musical games?, at least two *Folk Music of America* broadcasts on songs of play

The assistant head-of-school took a quick glance at these pages, then pointed at one unit. Music and Storytelling for kindergarten and first-grade students, she decided. She explained that GSA administrators have been hoping to offer more extracurricular activities for the youngest students, as the upper elementary grades and middle schoolers already had some established offerings. While I had designed the curriculum with sixth graders in mind, I agreed, and we decided to begin a four-week curriculum for K-1 that July.

Thus, an administrator's input and the schedule at the school became the first factors impacting the development of my first curriculum. These factors impact how teachers navigate across subjects and student populations, but they are also ones acutely felt by music educators. In interviews with teachers who use the North Carolina Symphony Education Concert materials, one music teacher, Rebecca, told me about her unusual schedule for seeing students. In one week, Rebecca will see the same classes of students every day from Monday through Friday. The next week, the schedule rotates, and she sees a different set of students every day for a week. The schedule works on an eight-week rotation—meaning a fourth-grade student, for example, will see Rebecca every day for one week and then not again for eight weeks. Rebecca described to me how much this schedule impacts the content that she could and could not teach.[426] One wall in her classroom featured a bulletin board on Recorder Karate, but she then admitted that the board was from previous years because progressive instrumental learning did not work very well with the current schedule—the eight week period between students' music weeks was too long for retention.

[425] PDF document written and presented by author in meeting with GSA Assistant Head of School Miya Plummer and well as UNC graduate students Amanda Black and Kori Hill and UNC professor Chérie Ndaliko. Last updated February 14, 2017.

[426] Photographs taken by author of Rebecca's September 2018-March 2019 teaching schedules.

Thus, while there were particularities such as appeasing administrators and adjusting to the school schedule to my teaching context at GSA, these particularities generally resonated with how music teachers broadly have had to navigate a number of factors that have little to do with their philosophical or instructional goals. For example, I had not envisioned working with such young students (as my undergraduate training in music education had focused on middle school band pedagogy), but I did my best to embrace it.

Teaching kindergarten and first-grade music was a challenge. With the critical consciousness-agenda of my research, on my first day at GSA, I tried involving five-year-olds in critical discussions about the relationship between music, place, and belonging. They liked the picture book about Moana that I choose for that lesson, but it did not seem that the critical themes were resonating with them. My research notes after this first day:

> Wow…Participatory research is right—there is so much distance between theory and practice. Students need to always know what they should be doing with their bodies.
> More activities and less discussion. I didn't even realize how much discussion was built into the various activities [I created for this lesson]. The kids are excited to move, sing, dance, and even listen. But as much as critical pedagogy is all about their input, I made it overly democratic and chaotic. Choosing one and at most two activities with spoken Q and A per lesson. This means I'll have to find new ways for students to come to big conclusions about music, diversity, and difference.[427]

"Participatory research is right" references my coursework and mentors' warnings that the complex goals university researchers set for their community partnerships do not always go to plan.[428] The "distance between theory and practice" I felt went against initial hopes that I would be bringing theory into practice. But this also showed the beginning of how I hoped

[427] Author's field notes, July 25, 2017.

[428] Dorothy Holland, Dana E. Powell, Eugenia Eng, and Georgina Drew, "Models of Engaged Scholarship: An Interdisciplinary Discussion," Collaborative Anthropologies 3 (2010): 28-29.

"practice"—or, my experiences in music education settings—would reciprocally impact my theoretical and research findings.[429] It was not that I was completely inexperienced with kindergarten and first grade children. I had been a camp counselor for four- and five-year-olds in college, and I did have the theoretical knowledge of music pedagogy training from my music education degree. But neither of those were spaces where I had lofty ideas about critical thinking and challenging the cultural codes of music learning. Children's attention spans, the size of the space we had for movement, and the size of their growing bodies became increasingly present in my mind as I learned to plan and teach lessons. But these crucial factors were a mistaken afterthought with respect to this first lesson. I also realized on that first day that ignoring these factors would inhibit any ambitions I might have for a critically-engaged elementary music history or classical music curriculum.

Resources and logistics, thus, led my curriculum quest. The assistant head-of-school was right that Music and Storytelling would be a good way to start, as I soon realized the power of picture books in winning children's attention and engaging with their ideas. While they were not particularly excited to hear me lecture on Moana's relationship with her home and her desire to grow and change beyond it, they were engrossed with the story itself. Silence came over the room as I flipped the pages and read the book out loud. I began scouring the web and the public library for children's books about music.

The Drum Dream Girl is a picture book that captivated me and my students in its colorful images telling the childhood story of the first woman drummer in Cuba, and the hurdles she

[429] Indeed, my work comes from the position that theory and practice are interwoven rather than distinct, in line with critical pedagogue bell hooks' work, who explains in the context of a discussion about Black consciousness, "By reinforcing the idea that there is a split between theory and practice or by creating such a split, [one can]…deny the power of liberatory education for critical consciousness, therefore perpetuating conditions that reinforce our collective exploitation and repression." Bell hooks, *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 69.

faced along the way.[430] Millo Castro Zaldarriaga, the drum dream girl, grew up dreaming of the boom-boom-booming of the drums. But the story's pages explained that the girl's father did not allow her to play, as there was a taboo against women playing the drums in Cuba. Girls could play other instruments, as her sisters had formed Cuba's first "all-girl dance band," Anacaona, playing instruments, including the saxophone and the bass, and singing.[431] But the drums were only for boys, her father said. However, as the story progresses, the father comes around and eventually recruits a local teacher to offer lessons to young Millo. She practices, learns quickly, and eventually became a member of her sisters' band.

The Drum Dream Girl introduces young children to critical issues of gender expectations and cultural heritage through poetry and vivid illustrations. Its message is clear: boys and girls should have equal access to culturally gendered practice of playing the drums and following their dreams. Using the theme of "dreams" allows children to connect their own ambitions and aspirations to the story, even if their aspirations are not to become a drummer or even if they are not a girl like the drum dream girl. The book's illustrator, Rafael López, writes in a blog post about how the emphasis on "dreams" also connects to the generation of young people in the US identifying as dreamers who hope to gain US citizenship status after immigrating.[432]

The text is written as a long poem, with rhythm and flow in its grammatical cadence, making it easily adaptable to music activities. Onomatopoeia brings instrument sounds to life, as

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[430] Margarita Engle, *Drum Dream Girl: How One Girl's Courage Changed Music*, illus. Rafael López (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2015).

[431] "Historical Note," in Engle, *Drum Dream Girl*; Raul da Gama, "Cuba: The History that Anacaona Made," Latin Jazz Network, August 26, 2014, https://latinjazznet.com/reviews/books/cuba-the-history-that-anacaona-made/.

[432] Rafael López, "Hispanic Heritage. Millo Cast Zaldarriaga," RafealLopez.com, September 29, 2017, https://rafaellopez.com/2017/09/29/hispanic-heritage-millo-castro-zaldarriaga/.

the text describes Millo dreaming of "boom-boom-booming with long loud sticks."[433] At the suggestion of music education professor Robin Giebelhausen, I began experimenting with turning the poetic text from the *Drum Dream Girl* into a performance song with the GSA students.[434] The following refrain echoed throughout the book, starting with its opening page:

> On an island of music
> in a city of drumbeats
> the drum dream girl
> dreamed.[435]

This text repeated twice became the A section refrain of "The Drum Dream Girl" song that the second-grade class would eventually perform at Noche Latina in October 2018, an annual GSA event celebrating Latinx culture through food, dance, music, and games.[436] We paired it with the following excerpt from the book, which became the B section of our ABA form song.

> of pounding tall conga drums
> tapping small *bongó* drums
> and boom-boom-booming
> with long, loud sticks
> on big bright silvery

[433] Engle, *Drum Dream Girl*.

[434] Giebelhausen was pursuing her PhD in Music Education while I was an undergraduate student at Michigan State University. She was my teaching assistant and has continued to be an influential mentor as we both completed our degrees. She is now an assistant professor in music education at the University of New Mexico. Our correspondence over email and Skype was especially helpful in the first year of my work at GSA.

[435] Engle, *Drum Dream Girl*.

[436] I use Latinx to refer to people and cultures and Latin music to refer to music. For more on the use of Latinx, see Lourdes Torres, "Latinx?" *Latino Studies* 16, 3 (October 2018): 283-5.

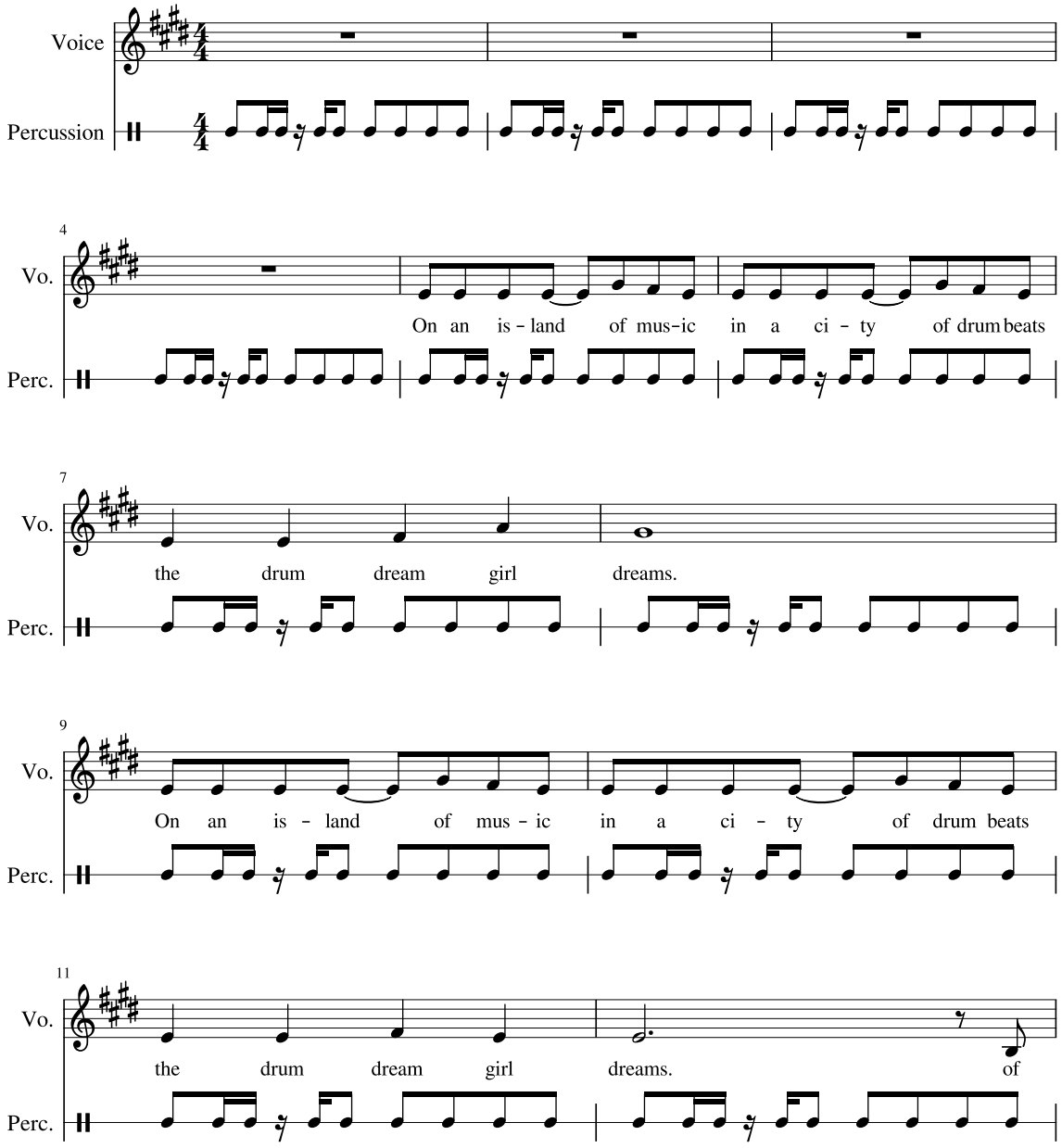
moon-bright *timbales*.[437]

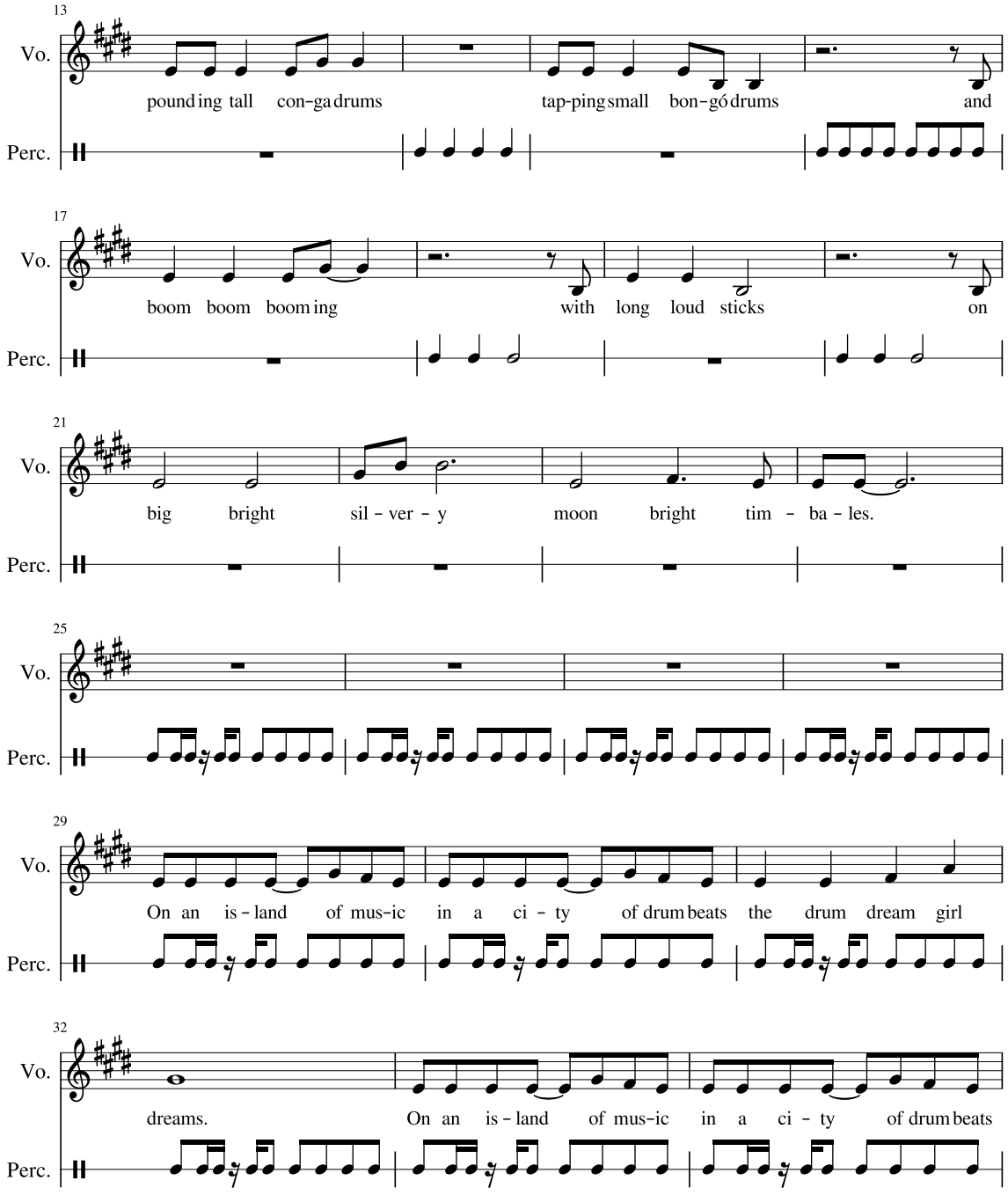
The text and song theme leant themselves well to incorporating percussion instruments into the song. I recruited an adept sixth-grade student to play the rumba rhythm, a traditionally Cuban rhythm used for call-and-response vocals during the A section.[438] Rather than employing the rhythm for call-and-response, it set the beat in the introduction and continued to underlay the sung text. During the B section of the song, she switched to different classroom percussion instruments that alluded to the instruments named in the song text. Below is the full composition:

[437] Engle, *Drum Dream Girl*.

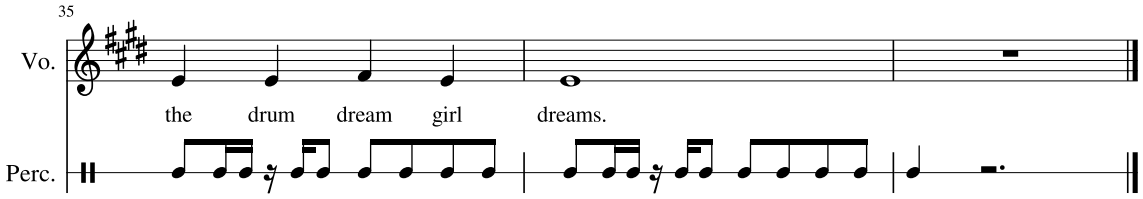
[438] The last page of the children's book *Tito Puente Mambo King/El Rey del Mambo* discussed later in this chapter, suggests that readers perform "this simple rumba beat" and includes the rhythm pattern that I used in the Drum Dream Girl song. Because of my source for the rhythm pattern, I label it here as rumba. However, it is more typically recognized as a cinquillo rhythm.

Drum Dream Girl Song




13
Vo.
pound ing tall con-ga drums
tap-ping small bon-gó drums
and
Perc.
17
Vo.
boom boom boom ing
with long loud sticks
on
Perc.
21
Vo.
big bright sil - ver - y
moon bright tim - ba - les.
Perc.
25
Vo.
Perc.
29
Vo.
On an is - land of mus-ic in a ci - ty of drum beats the drum dream girl
Perc.
32
Vo.
dreams.
On an is - land of mus-ic in a ci - ty of drum beats
Perc.

2



The second-grade class performed "The Drum Dream Girl Song" as an homage to Millo Castro Zaldarriaga on the 2018 Noche Latina performance. Preparing for a community performance, while exciting, helped me better understand music educators' most common pressures. Indeed, music educators answer to many needs of their students, community, and administrators. An entire school year's curriculum can often revolve around hosting student performances to meet these needs.

I was personally most concerned with generating new and innovative curricular content, but the pressure of preparing for Noche Latina—along with several other performances during my years at GSA—meant that I often compromised this goal. Specifically for Noche Latina, for example, I had planned to teach a unit with the second-grade class on Silvestre Revueltas's 1938 orchestral work, *Sensemayá*, a musical interpretation of Nicolás Guillén's 1934 poem by the same title.[439] There were several reasons I thought this would be a compelling unit. First, in reflection of an earlier discussion with older students about composer representation and ethnicity (discussed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation), in which they said that they did not know any Latin American or Latinx composers existed, I wanted to foreground the work's transnational Latin American origins. Revueltas was a composer from Mexico and he drew on the work of Guillén, an Afro-Cuban poet. Furthermore, the text of "Sensemayá" depicts the

[439] Helga Zambrano, "Reimagining the Poetic and Musical Translation of 'Sensemayá,'" *Ethnomusicology Review* 19 (2014), https://ethnomusicologyreview-ucla-edu.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/journal/volume/19/piece/800.

Afro-Cuban ritual of killing a snake, fostering further intracultural discussion. Another reason that I thought this unit would work well was its medium transformation from a poem to a non-texted musical work. In this way, the orchestral work has a clear meaning and a clear story well-suited to the theme of Music and Storytelling. Because the poem includes some violent text, I decided to focus on the first two-thirds, which are not as graphic. Additionally, while we could not perform *Sensemayá* together as an orchestral work, I found a couple of elementary-level classroom songs about snakes that we could sing together, allowing us to incorporate our own music-making with listening.[440]

I also had planned to use *Sensemayá* to facilitate a critical lesson focused on musical stereotyping. My motivation for this built on an experience I had many years ago while I was student teaching with middle school band students. At that time, I had eighth-grade students listen to *Sensemayá* as a piece by a composer from Mexico alongside *El Salón Mexico* by the white American composer Aaron Copland as a piece by a non-Mexican person attempting to depict Mexico. The students unanimously identified *El Salón Mexico* as sounding more "Mexican" than *Sensemayá*. One of the percussionists contributed to the discussion by relating this to food stereotyping. He explained that his family is Mexican and they eat traditionally Mexican food at home, but that when he sees Mexican food depicted in advertisements, it often does not match his home cuisine.[441] This student and his distinction between commodified representations and personal reality critically articulated the message I had hoped pairing these

[440] "Black Snake: Folk Song," Beth's Notes: Supporting and Inspiring Music Educators, last accessed February 8, 2020, https://www.bethsnotesplus.com/2012/11/black-snake.html; "As I Was Walking," Beth's Notes: Supporting and Inspiring Music Educators, last accessed February 8, 2020, https://www.bethsnotesplus.com/2019/04/as-i-was-walking.html.

[441] To be specific, he expressed his eyes widened in a combination of awed-realization and outrage about hard-shelled tacos being shown as quintessentially Mexican food, even though that never matched what he ate within his family's Mexican community.

musical pieces would illustrate. While I could not predict how facilitating a similar conversation among a much younger age group of second-graders would have gone, it had the potential to intersect with their personal understandings of selfhood and identity like it had for the eighth-grade percussionist.

In fact, the second graders and I began the unit on *Sensemayá* with a successful introductory lesson. They were accustomed to me reading picture books to them, so instead of a picture book, I read the beginning of Guillén's poem out loud while they closed their eyes and listened.

Sensemayá by Nicolás Guillén

Canto para matar a una culebra.

¡Mayombe - bombe - mayombe!
¡Mayombe - bombe - mayombe!
¡Mayombe - bombe - mayombe!

La culebra tiene los ojos de vidrio;
la culebra viene y se enreda en un palo;
con sus ojos de vidrio, en un palo,
con sus ojos de vidrio.
La culebra camina sin patas;
la culebra se esconde en la yerba;
caminando se esconde en la yerba,
caminando sin patas.

¡Mayombe - bombe - mayombe!
¡Mayombe - bombe - mayombe!
¡Mayombe - bombe - mayombe!

Tu le das con el hacha y se muere:
dale ya!
No le des con el pie, que tu muerde,
no le des con el pie, que se va!

Sensemayá, la culebra,
sensemayá.
Sensemayá, con sus ojos,
sensemayá.
Sensemayá, con su lengua,
sensemayá.
Sensemayá, con su boca,
sensemayá.

La culebra muerta no puede comer;
la culebra muerta no puede silbar;
no puede caminar,
no puede correr!
La culebra muerta no puede mirar;
la culebra muerta no puede beber;
no puede respirar,
no puede morder!

¡Mayombe-bombe-mayombe!
Sensemayá, la culebra...

¡Mayombe-bombe-mayombe!
Sensemayá, no se mueve...

¡Mayombe-bombe-mayombe!
Sensemayá, la culebra...

¡Mayombe-bombe-mayombe!
¡Sensemayd, se murio!

English Translation

Chant to kill a snake

¡Mayombe - bombe - mayombe!
¡Mayombe - bombe - mayombe!
¡Mayombe - bombe - mayombe!

The snake has eyes of glass;
the snake comes and coils around a stick;
with its eyes of glass, around a stick,
with its eyes of glass.
The snake walks without legs;
the snake hides in the grass;
walking it hides in the grass,
walking without legs

¡Mayombe - bombe - mayombe!
¡Mayombe - bombe - mayombe!
¡Mayombe - bombe - mayombe!

You strike it with the ax, and it dies:
strike it now!
Don't strike it with your foot, as it will bite you,
don't strike it with your foot, as it will escape!

Sensemayá, the snake,
sensemayá.
Sensemayá, with its eyes,
sensemayá.
Sensemayá, with its tongue,
sensemayá.
Sensemayá, with its mouth,
sensemayá.

The dead snake cannot eat;
the dead snake cannot whistle;
it cannot move,
it cannot run!
The dead snake cannot see;
the dead snake cannot drink;
it cannot breathe,
it cannot bite!

¡Mayombe-bombe-mayombe!
Sensemayá, the snake...

¡Mayombe-bombe-mayombe!
Sensemayá, does not move...

¡Mayombe-bombe-mayombe!
Sensemayá, the snake...

¡Mayombe-bombe-mayombe!
¡Sensemayá, has died!

442

The student giggled in response to "mayombe-bombe-mayombe!" opening of the poem before they quieted in fascination of the following stanzas' text. We discussed what it meant that the snake was "walking with no feet," as the students clasped and swayed their hands to depict the snake's slithering movements through the grass. Transitioning to Revueltas's piece, we called and responded to each other on "mayombe-bombe-mayombe," which prepared them for hearing Revueltas's seven-beat setting of this phrase. "Mayombe-bombe-mayombe" becomes something of a chorus in *Sensemayá*, and the students immediately began singing the text along with the recording when they heard the phrase in the orchestral piece. It was difficult for them to feel and replicate the seven-beat pattern (they inevitably added an eighth beat), but the piece offered promise for challenging them to embrace new rhythmic patterns. I had looked forward to further lessons digging into the cultural history of the poem and orchestral work, including learning more about the creators' lives and backgrounds.

But the Noche Latina performance presented unique expectations and conditions, greatly shaping programming decisions and curriculum connections. This process humbled me to the everyday realities of music educators. Because the teacher organizing Noche Latina wanted to feature more upbeat, commercial music recordings on the Noche Latina performance, we cut *Sensemayá* from the program and replaced it with "Oye Como Va" by Latin jazz musician Tito Puente. I would have liked to continue the unit on *Sensemayá* for the sake of its content and its relationship with my dissertation goals. But my time with the students was very limited during this period, and it already felt crunched to fit everything in for the Puente piece. We were able to learn about Puente's biography through a lovely bilingual picture book on his upbringing and

[442] Text and translation as in Ricardo Zohn-Muldoon, "The Song of the Snake: Silvestre Revueltas' 'Sensemayá," *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 19, no. 2 (Autumn-Winter 1998): 138-139.

career, but I ended up relying on existing resources rather than creating my own or doing much co-creation with students.

Considering that the *Sensemayá* unit ended in an understandable but disappointing compromise, the unit on the *Drum Dream Girl* became especially meaningful to my curricular goals. Learning about Zaldarriaga's background showed the students a historical musical figure from outside the canon of classical music composers. Furthermore, the *Drum Dream Girl* picture book made gender inequity in musical practice explicitly clear. This led us to activities linked to the musical element of rhythm that embraced the musicianship and aspirations of all students in the classroom. For example, we played a game where students performed different patterns using rhythm sticks and then we affirmed that everyone in the room—boys and girls alike—were all drummers, like the drum dream girl. Furthermore, Zaldarriaga became one of the first figures representing music history in the Music and Storytelling curriculum. The students' interest in visual images—from seeing the picture book's illustrations of the *Drum Dream Girl* to watching videos of Zaldarriaga performing and looking at her photograph on a poster—offered me an early lesson in the meaningfulness of integrating curricula with such materials. Furthermore, the *Drum Dream Girl* unit also fostered the experience of transitioning classroom lessons and classroom curricula into a performance piece.

Yet it is important to keep in mind that, recalling the summary of music education scholarship in the previous section of this chapter, interdisciplinary work among ethnomusicologists and music educators has done much to improve the representation and contextualization of non-hegemonic music traditions in US music classrooms. Thus, while the *Drum Dream Girl* unit fit some of my goals, it was not necessarily innovative. Moreover, while Noche Latina as a whole is supposed to celebrate the large Latinx student population at GSA, I

often felt uncomfortable in my role as a white teacher with little personal experience performing the music traditions that we discussed while preparing for the performance. Music education scholarship has also been responding to the disproportionate number of white American women music teachers compared to the race and gender demographics of US schoolchildren, by working towards incorporating more culturally sensitive and culturally informed teaching practices especially with respect to non-Western music traditions.[443]

Despite these qualifiers, though, the *Drum Dream Girl* was one of the first and most successful picture books from which I based a lesson and a performance piece related to my research goals, and I used the methods of its development as a mold for a unit that more specifically addressed historical privilege and identity in classical music culture. In a unit I developed during my second and most robust year of research with GSA, I integrated the pedagogical knowledge I had gleaned from my previous year of experience at GSA with my musicological knowledge of the activist musician and singer-songwriter Nina Simone.[444] Simone is often remembered as a jazz musician, but classical music culture and traditions were central components of her musical education and early career. Her childhood piano teacher, Muriel Massinovitch, was a white Englishwoman who, as Simone writes in her autobiography, "only allowed me to practice Bach and soon I loved him as much as she did. . . . Once I understood Bach's music I never wanted to be anything other than a concert pianist; Bach made me dedicate

[443] Matthew D. Thibeault, "Quite a Lot on Some Problems With—and Just a Little on the Hopes for—Secondary General Music With Regards to Culturally Responsive and Respective Music Education," General Music Today 26, issue 3 (2013): 35-38; Delorenzo, ed., *Giving Voice to Democracy in Music Education*.

[444] I wrote my master's thesis on Nina Simone's early career. Sarah Tomlinson, "'And I Want You to Walk Down Freedom's Road': Rethinking Resistance in the Music of Nina Simone, 1958-1963" (MA thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2016).

my life to music, and it was Mrs[.] Massinovitch who introduced me to his world."[445] Because of the way that Simone positioned the canonic Baroque composer Johann Sebastian Bach with respect to her musical upbringing and aspirations, I developed a 2019 Music and Storytelling unit that introduced Nina Simone's music alongside that of J.S. Bach. This unit began during February, Black History Month, so we started by learning about Simone, who was a Black American woman from Tryon, North Carolina and who became heavily involved in the Civil Rights and Black Power movements.[446]

The 2017 children's book, *Nina: Jazz Legend and Civil-Rights Activist Nina Simone* written by Alice Brière-Haquet and illustrated by Bruno Liance, situates itself within an activist historical framework.[447] The book narrates Simone's life from her perspective as if she were telling the story to her child during bedtime. She tells her child about her upbringing learning to play the piano and about her adulthood admiration for Civil Rights Movement leader Martin Luther King, Jr. [448] However, as musicologist Tammy Kernodle argues in a 2008 article, one notable issue with this summary is that Simone's protest music aligned more closely with militant black power nationalism than with the hopeful optimism and interracial collaboration of the Civil Rights Movement. Another issue comes in an attempted metaphor between the white and black keys of the piano and US racial politics. Brière-Haquet creates this metaphor through a problematic and erroneous manipulation of music theory identifying black keys as half notes and

[445] Nina Simone and Stephen Cleary, *I Put a Spell on You: The Autobiography of Nina Simone* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2003), 23.

[446] Tammy Kernodle, " 'I Wish I Knew How It Would Feel to Be Free': Nina Simone and the Redefining of the Freedom Song of the 1960s," *Journal for the Society of American Music* 2 (2008): 295-317.

[447] Alice Brière-Haquet, *Nina: Jazz Legend and Civil-Rights Activist Nina Simone*, illus. Bruno Liance (Watertown: Charlesbridge, 2017).

[448] Nina Simone's only child is her daughter Lisa Simone, although Lisa's name was not specifically mentioned in the book.

white keys as whole notes, and implying that this reflected how Black people were devaluated in hegemonic US society. The text explains, "White was whole. Black was half. It was that way everywhere and for everyone."[449]

To the authors' credit, mentioning race at all is unusual in children's books about musicians, particularly those about musicians trained in the classical music tradition. The primary anecdote in the book is Simone's refusal to perform at a community concert when she was twelve years old unless her parents, the only Black attendants, were permitted to sit in the front row. In the context of reading this book to my GSA students during Black History month, the students immediately pointed how Simone's actions related to those of Rosa Parks, who famously refused to sit in the back of a segregated bus in Montgomery, Alabama and became an icon of the Civil Rights Movement. Politicizing Simone's actions as a young person within the realm of classical music performance was, at least for GSA students, a successful move of the book that resonated deeply.

Musically, the GSA students listened and moved to several of Simone's musical works as part of this unit. The book emphasized Simone's piano playing, which I reinforced by foregrounding musical recordings of her piano playing into classroom listening activities. Simone is often remembered as a singer because of the music industry's gendered and racialized assumptions that Black women musicians in the United States, especially those of Simone's generation, are jazz singers. Simone explicitly rejected the label of jazz and resented being compared to other jazz singers such as Billie Holiday.[450] Therefore, I prioritized her piano

[449] Describing the black keys as half notes and the white keys as whole notes, however, is incorrect musical terminology. "Whole" and "half" with respect to musical notes either refers to a rhythmic length of time or the way notes relate to each other, such as being a whole or half step apart. Each key on the piano is a note but none of them are either whole or half notes.

[450] As Simone writes in her autobiography, "Because of 'Porgy' people often compared me to Billie Holiday…It was a racist thing; 'If she's black she must be a jazz singer.'" Simone and Cleary, *I Put a Spell on You*, 69.

playing. Yet Simone's singing voice is one of her most distinctive and revered musical features; thus, I did encourage them to carefully listen to her piano playing, in addition to her voice. Due to the limitations of class time and the young age group I was working with, I did not bring all of this interpretation of identity and the music industry to the GSA students, but perhaps more time and preparation would have allowed me to do so.

After introducing the students to Nina Simone during Black History Month, in March it was time to learn about a musician who had inspired her, Johann Sebastian Bach. Unlike the one children's book available about Nina Simone, there are several children's books about Bach to choose from, both online and at the Chapel Hill Public Library from which I borrowed many books throughout my time developing the Music and Storytelling curriculum.[451] Also unlike *Nina*, none of these books specifically made mention of Bach's racial identity as a white man, but they did often mark his German nationality. I choose a book about Bach that, like *Nina*, focused on the musician's childhood. Indeed, depicting the main character in their childhood is a common trend of children's books about historical figures, encouraging children to think about themselves, their present state, and their aspirations for the future with respect to the protagonist.[452] In *Becoming Bach*, by Tom Leonard, young Johann grows up in a family of musicians.[453] Leonard explains how, in Germany during the seventeenth-century, musicians were called "bachs" which gave Bach his name. Leonard depicts Bach playing a number of

[451] Jeanette Winter, *Sebastian: A Book About Bach* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace, 1999); Tom Angleberger, *Bach to the Rescue!!!!! How a Rich Dude Who Couldn't Sleep Inspired the Greatest Music Ever* (New York: Abrams Books for Young Readers, 2018).

[452] As examples of this broader trend, these picture books begin by depicting their subjects as children. Engle*, Drum Dream Girl*; Diane Stanley *Mozart: The Wonder Child: A Puppet Play in Three Acts* (New York: Harper Collins, 2009); Elizabeth Rusch, *For the Love of Music: The Remarkable Story of Maria Anna Mozart*, illus. Lou Fancher and Steve Johnson (New York: Tricycle Press, 2011); Pam Muñoz Ryan, When Marian Sang: *The True Recital of Marian Anderson: The Voice of a Century*, illus. Brian Selznick (New York: Scholastic Press, 2002).

[453] Tom Leonard, *Becoming Bach* (New York: Roaring Brook Press, 2017).

instruments as a child, including the harpsichord, violin, and flute, in beautiful illustrations that fascinated the students. Following up on this, some of the students named family members who play instruments and how they hoped to be able to learn from them.

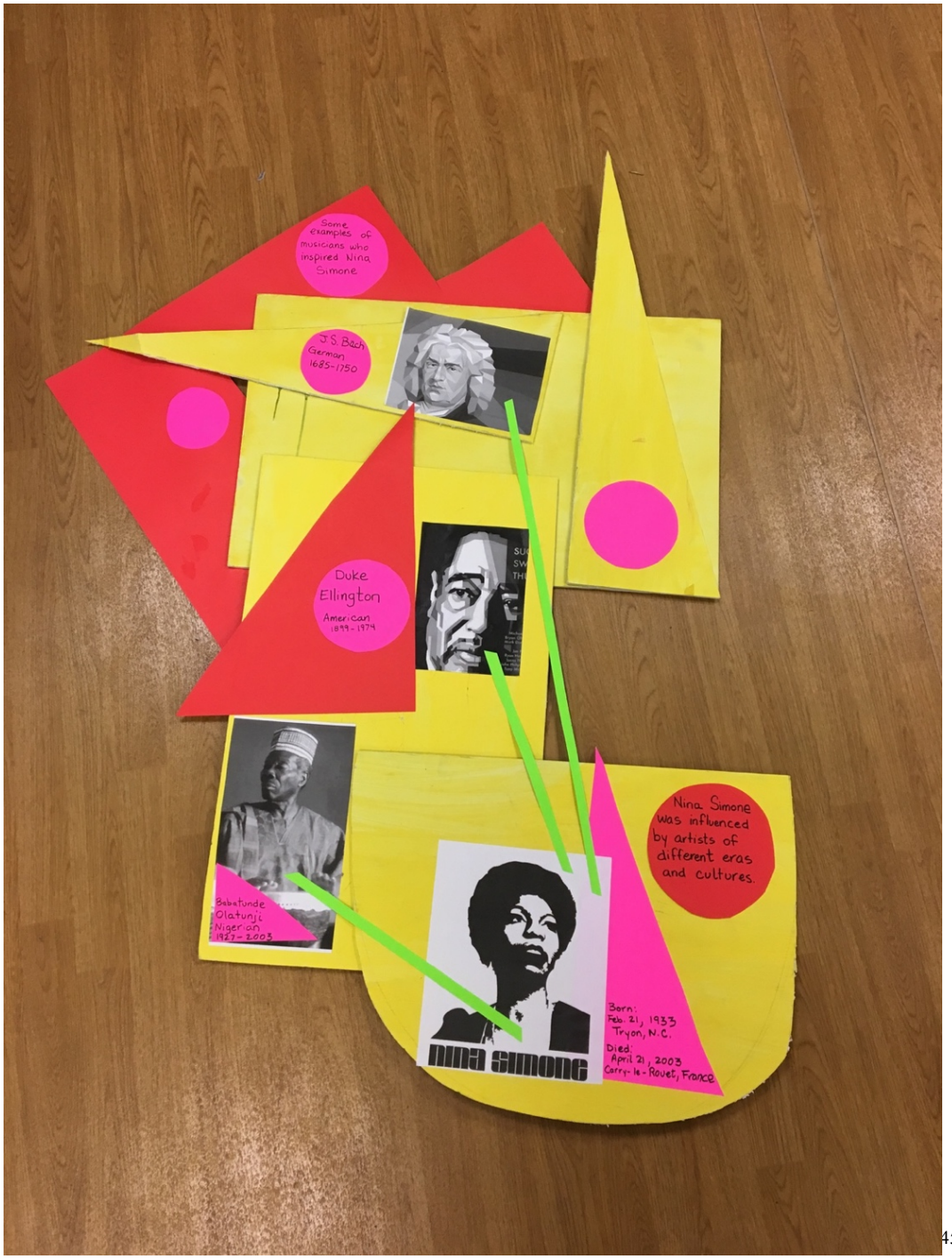
After a class primarily focused on Bach and listening to his music, the next lesson placed Simone's and Bach's music side-by-side. As she had written about, Simone performed Bach's piano music growing up and continued to be influenced by his compositional style throughout her career. First, we listened to excepts from the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, one of the most canonic works of Baroque music and a piece frequently used in piano pedagogy.[454] We would eventually use "Book I: Prelude and Fugue No.1 in C Major" for a kindergarten performance piece, but during this earlier classroom lesson, I emphasized the fugue in "Book II: Prelude and Fugue No. 19 in A Major" for its overlapping melodic lines, which I described to the students as echoing. Next, we listened to the beginning of Nina Simone's cover of the Duke Ellington tune, "Mood Indigo" in which she mixes bebop style improvisation with Baroque-style counterpoint, much like the Bach fugue they had just listened to. The "echoing" effect of the fugue motives are especially apparent during her over one-minute-long piano introduction, all before she reaches the main melody of the tune. The students took interest in "Mood Indigo," and we went on to incorporate it into a music showcase a few months later in May.

Indeed, Nina Simone's music and her relationship to other musicians was at the heart of the K-2 students' performances on the May 2019 showcase. This showcase featured the K-2 Music and Storytelling classes, two recorder classes of third through fifth-grade students, and a flute class of middle school students. Each piece that the K-2 students performed connected to

[454] Kerstin Barger Stone, "Teaching the Preludes of the 'Well-Tempered Clavier'" (MA Thesis, San Jose State University, 2003); Larissa Paggioli de Carvalho, "Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier: Pedagogical Approaches and the Different Styles of Preludes," *Per Musi* 33 (January-April 2016): 97-115.

Nina Simone's network of musicians and musical styles, showing the significance of collaboration and inspiration. The kindergarteners moved to a J.S. Bach piece with scarves in their hands, showing the musical concept of flow popular to the Music Learning Theory method of music education.[455] I edited the musical excerpt, which was in C major, to transition into a clip of Duke Ellington's "Take the A Train," which Ella Fitzgerald performed in the key of C. These two composers, J.S. Bach and Duke Ellington, were merged in this piece. We framed this performance as a celebration of two composers who had importantly influenced and inspired Nina Simone. Then the second-grade students moved to Simone's cover of "Mood Indigo" for its demonstration of influence from Baroque and bebop, Bach and Ellington. Having the students perform with these musical recordings gave them ownership over the styles and musicianship they interpreted. This network of influence was visually brought to life through an eighth-grade student's artwork, which she created for the concert:

[455] Music Learning Theory is the primary pedagogical method that I trained in during my undergraduate music education degree. Edwin E. Gordon, *Learning Sequences in Music: Skill, Content, and Patterns* (Chicago: GIA Publications, 2007); Maria Runfola and Cynthia Taggart, eds., *The Development and Practical Application of Music Learning Theory* (Chicago: GIA Publications, 2005).



[456]

[456] Artwork by a GSA student in eighth-grade. My IRB permissions do not allow me to acknowledge her by name. Photograph taken by author, May 16, 2019.

About a month later, on the last day of classes later in June, the students were quick to name the musicians whose music they had performed with during a classroom listening game. In this game, many of the students mistook J.S. Bach's music for Nina Simone's. By teaching these two musicians' histories side-by-side and situating them both as taking part in classical music culture, students could see and hear how people of various time periods, nationalities, races, genders and cultures have contributed to this genre of music. Moreover, the book on Nina Simone made explicit the discrimination she encountered as a Black woman in a context that privileges whiteness and explains how she navigated and spoke up against this discrimination. In addition to the book, I was able to offer a contrasting view of Simone's musicianship by centering her piano playing. To be sure, we could have done more to politicize and contextualize Bach's history, and this one unit certainly has limitations and much space for improvement. With respect to this dissertation project, though, the students' mix-up showed that even in their early introductions, children can learn about classical music without conflating it with solely white male composers. The children heard the music of Nina Simone, a Black American woman who aligned with the politics of Black Power and composed protest music, as classical music.

Conclusion

Many of the books I chose for the Music and Storytelling curriculum had the potential for critical connections, even with classical music history, but the feeling that I could have followed through even further became familiar. As the *Sensemayá* unit illustrated, the everyday pressures, logistics, and my available resources—factors familiar to practicing music educators—often limited my aspirations for classroom content. Another example came when I learned about US-born Puerto Rican musician and composer Tito Puente in preparation for Noche Latina. Because

Puente wrote "Oye Como Va," the focus of our performance, we positioned him as a composer. But we could have taken this further as Puente had studied at Juilliard, and thus had a connection to one of the most prestigious classical music institutions in the United States.[457] I thought about telling the students more about Juilliard to emphasize Puente's breadth of musicianship but also because it would create another link to Nina Simone. Simone had taken lessons at Juilliard after being rejected from the Curtis Institute of Music, a rejection she attributed to racial discrimination.[458] As such, Puente's background had much potential for connection to a broader conversation about people-of-color's relationships with classical music institutions, in both celebratory participatory and critically discriminatory ways. But I just ran out of time. Or energy.

That sense of burnout and the frustration of not being able to fully realize my curricular goals are at the heart of why I wanted to do this project—I know many teachers (across educational levels) feel this way. I often found myself just scraping by to research the musicians and composers we studied and their histories enough to critically contextualize them. Indeed, I felt more comfortable developing lessons based on a subject that I had, for a time, been intimately familiar and curious about. In this way, it is unsurprising that I achieved greater follow-through in the unit on Simone and Bach because I had written my master's thesis in musicology on Simone's early career. For other units, it was an ongoing challenge to develop innovative curricula in time to keep up with the demands of a regular teaching scheduling.

Here is where musicologists have so much potential for collaborating with music educators. I know of many thoroughly researched and culturally conscious historical articles and books on musicians and composers marginalized within the classical music community that

[457] Monica Brown, *Tito Puente Mambo King/El Rey del Mambo*, illus. Rafael López (New York: Harper Collins, 2013).

[458] Simone and Cleary, *I Put a Spell on You*, 35.

could unfold into dynamic, critically-engaging, and exciting materials for music educators, whether picture books, curricular ideas, or full-blown lesson plans. What prevents musicologists from working together with music educators to develop historically informed and culturally sensitive lessons on classical music history and traditions? Could musicologists adapt some of the critical approaches they take to contextualizing the exclusivity of the classical music canon for K-12 settings? There could be a greater push for musicologists to go beyond sending music educators a link to their articles, books, or even public-facing blog posts and instead try their hand at writing a lesson plan, engaging in an interdisciplinary collaborative project, or even arranging a concert work by a historically marginalized composer for a K-12 performance group. To be sure, this work is happening in small pockets, like the small context of my work with GSA. But I do urge this to become a larger movement, and one that breaks down not just the historical exclusivities of the canon, but also the historical divisions between musicology and music education.

CHAPTER 5
Musicology as/versus Participatory Research: Collaborating with Students and Institutions[459]

This dissertation opens by pointing out the distance between knowledge held within academia, specifically the discipline of musicology, and the awareness of and access to that knowledge, specifically in the common practice of how classical music is represented to children and young people. In conducting fieldwork, I found that educational resources can bridge this distance, but they also can further demonstrate its divide. To provide an example, in August of 2017, I attended the North Carolina Symphony (NCS)'s Education Concert Teacher Workshop, hosted in the same performing arts complex as the symphony's main concert hall. Four local music educators wrote lesson activities to pair with each piece on the 2017–2018 Education Concert program. The creators of the lessons then demonstrated their activities to the larger audience of teachers at the workshop. The teacher who created lesson activities for Aaron Copland's "Variations on a Shaker Hymn", which excerpts the "Simple Gifts" melody from the *Appalachian Spring* ballet, presented at the workshop on the piece's storytelling potential.[460] Because Copland had composed the music for a ballet with choreographer Martha Graham, the teacher thought that a picture book could help students learn about the story and context of the ballet. The teacher explained that she had tried looking for a children's picture book about the

[459] Portions of this chapter have previously appeared as a column in the *Music Educators Journal*. This original citation is as follows: Sarah Tomlinson, "Folk Songs at the North Carolina Symphony: Engaging Students with Primary Sources on Music and Gender," *Music Educators Journal* 106, Issue 2 (December 2019): 18-21.

[460] "Table of Contents," in *North Carolina Symphony Teacher Handbook*, 2017-2018, page 1.

piece, but because she could not find any, she wrote her own using a website application called Storybird.

Her creative use of an easy-to-use internet program, Storybird, demonstrates this teacher's consideration of accessible lesson materials. She directly provided her Storybird picture book of "Variations on a Shaker Hymn" to the teachers who attended the workshop via a PowerPoint that the NCS distributes to all teachers who sign up for the workshop. Many teachers go on to use these same PowerPoint slides in their classrooms with students. She also introduced educators to a new resource, Storybird, that they could use to create their own story adaptation and that they could possibly use for lessons on other programmatic musical works. This teacher demonstrated an adept familiarity with resources and a clear consideration of what types of materials other teachers will use most comfortably, making her lesson activity particularly effective.

But this demonstration also reveals a critical divide. As I sat listening to the teacher present on her Storybird version of the ballet, I was struck because there already is a picture book for children about the *Appalachian Spring* ballet, published in 2010.[461] Its title might have been the cause of discrepancy, as the published picture book is called *Ballet for Martha: Making Appalachian Spring*, possibly eluding internet searches for books on "Variations on a Shaker Hymn" or "Simple Gifts." Whatever the reason, the result of a teacher not knowing about an existing resource symbiotic with her purposes is that she spent valuable time and effort creating her own. This example also shows how the efforts that the authors, Jan Greenberg and Sandra Jordan, and illustrator, Brian Flora, made in creating the *Ballet for Martha* picture book missed potential readers. In my research, this became an early example of a persistent problem: Just

[461] Jan Greenberg and Sandra Jordan, *Ballet for Martha: Making Appalachian Spring*, illus. Brian Flora (New York: Roaring Books Press, 2010).

because knowledge or a resource exists, it doesn't mean it is getting into the hands of music educators. The effectiveness of a resource is as reliant on prospective user's knowledge of and access to it as it is to the creation of the resource itself. Indeed, the disciplinary divide between musicology and music education that I examined in Chapter 4 relates to the divide explained here between knowledge and resources.

Building on my assertion in Chapter 4 that the engaged components of this dissertation are at the intersection of musicology and music education, this chapter reflects on how I attempted to create resources that practicing music educators could use readily. Inspiration and insight from several teachers met throughout my fieldwork urged me to consider, What materials and lesson plan styles are music teachers already familiar with? What already works effectively in their classrooms? Where do they turn to for new resources?

As such, this chapter describes my creation of new resources and their relationship with two existing resources familiar to many music educators, Recorder Karate and NCS Education Concerts. First, in section one, I describe and analyze the development of Music History Recorder Karate, a curriculum for GSA students in grades 3-5 based on a resource that has been popular among music educators for decades, Recorder Karate. This GSA curriculum was heavily influenced by 3-5 students' input, and it included a unit on US composer Ruth Crawford Seeger's orchestral arrangement of a folk song, "Rissolty Rossolty." In section two, I discuss how my engagement with GSA and the NCS intersected when the NCS programmed "Rissolty Rossolty" on its 2019–2020 Education Concert. This also involved an institutional collaboration with the Library of Congress, where archival materials on "Rissolty Rossolty" are held. As a result, I adapted the GSA Music History Recorder Karate lesson activities on "Rissolty Rossolty"

that incorporated archival documents from the Library of Congress for the NCS Education Concert teacher and student workbooks.

Throughout this chapter, I argue that effectively shifting children's introductions to classical music necessitates the consideration *and* the production of resources, curricula, lesson plans, and/or activities that music teachers can immediately implement in their classrooms. Furthermore, directly involving children in the development of the resources, and other materials exemplified in this chapter through collaboration with GSA students, not only contributes to the effectiveness of said resources, but also demonstrates how young people can and should play a pivotal role in knowledge building. Using existing mechanisms for distributing resources, exemplified by the integration of our lessons into NCS Education Concerts, addresses the gap between the existence of resources and music teachers' knowledge and use of them. Aligning with the intention of addressing this gap, the "Rissolty Rossolty" activities were also publicized in a column I wrote for the nationally distributed *Music Educators Journal*.[462]

Much of the intention to create usable materials for music teachers stems from the participatory research methods that guided my engagement with GSA. Indeed, in this chapter, I foreground my attempt to collaborate with students at GSA in *co*-creating curricula and resources through participatory research methods. Public health and anthropology scholars pioneered participatory research methods to work *with*, rather than *on*, communities with the goal of fostering equitable relationships between researchers and community partners. In a 2010 report on engaged scholarship, scholars in these fields position participatory research as a response "to the conventional practices of 'colonizing' communities for the sake of the researcher and research institutions. Researchers depended on communities to advance their own

[462] Tomlinson, "Folk Songs at the North Carolina Symphony."

careers and projects, yet offered little in return."[463] Enacting a participatory research method, by contrast, involves 1) determining research questions with community experts, 2) Centering community experts as knowledge producers, and 3) Creating products that directly benefit the community. During my graduate studies at UNC-Chapel Hill, I earned a Graduate Certificate in Participatory Research which informed this research approach and connected me with a network of interdisciplinary scholars employing this methodology.

In the context of my engagement with GSA, I anticipated that a participatory research approach would center students' own perspectives and position them both as research subjects *and* knowledge producers. I hoped that we could be collaboratively finding ways to address how music history and classical music history are represented to children and young people like them. But, while I had initially hoped to situate all of my work with GSA as participatory research, issues of authority challenged me from doing so. This is why Chapter 4, with its focus on music education, centered on the K-2 Music and Storytelling curriculum, and why this chapter, emphasizing participatory research, describes the grade 3-5 Music History Recorder Karate curriculum.

Let me be clear: Designing and implementing the K-2 Music and Storytelling curriculum did not feel equitably reciprocal. I had to be an authority figure as their music teacher, and because I had little previous experience teaching children of such a young age group, I spent large amounts of time struggling with, researching, and enforcing classroom management strategies. I instructed the entire class of twenty-five students in a small music room, and I found that systems of reward and punishment, strategic silencing techniques, and reliance primarily on my own ideas rather than incorporating the students' overshadowed my earlier vision of co-

[463] Holland et al. "Models of Engaged Scholarship: An Interdisciplinary Discussion" *Collaborative Anthropologies* 3 (2010): 5.

creative knowledge production. Much of this prevented K-2 Music and Storytelling from demonstrating the vision of participatory research that I had been disciplined in and sought to enact.

Some researchers in childhood studies have worked to avoid traditional authority models in their research as adults with children. Childhood studies and education scholar Pia Christensen interprets her position interviewing and playing with young children as an "othered" adult who the children come to see as somewhere between adult and child.[464] Tyler Bickford writes about prioritizing non-authoritative relationships in ethnographic research among elementary school students and his concern that these relationships would be compromised when he was asked to fill in as a part time music teacher.[465] In my interviews with children from outside of GSA, I could similarly be a less authoritative, "othered" adult. But I found my position of authority unavoidable with the kindergarten through second-grade students at GSA. Cultural anthropologist Erin Raffety posits in her participatory research with children that dispelling power differentials between adult researchers and children is often ineffective, arguing instead for suspending the expectations of relationships and taking steps to minimizing social distance.[466] Helpful for my work, she acknowledges the impossibility of an equitable relationship.

But I did not refuse the role of music instructor to minimize my role as an authority figure. Perhaps this is because, based on the praxis of participatory research from which I positioned this dissertation project, contributing music curricula and instruction at GSA did make

[464] Pia Haudrup Christensen, "Children's Participation in Ethnographic Research: Issues of Power and Representation," *Children and Society* 18.2 (2004): 165-176.

[465] Bickford, *Schooling New Music*, 7-8.

[466] Raffety, Erin L. 2015. "Minimizing Social Distance: Participatory Research with Children." *Childhood* 22 (3): 409-22.

it seem like I was offering something to my community in exchange for their insights into my research. Furthermore, creating a system of classroom management that allows all children in the classroom to feel safe, to have opportunities to engage in the class both individually and collectively, and to feel supported by their teacher and their peers in many ways comes from the teacher taking a strong position of authority and leadership. I choose to loosen my participatory research methodology in favor of a more traditional teacher authority model to make my music classroom space safe, productive, and stable for my K-2 students

Because it was difficult to meaningfully and equitably collaborate with students in the K-2 Music and Storytelling curriculum, the 3-5 Music History Recorder Karate more successfully embodied some key components of participatory research. I was still an authority figure as the music teacher, so I would not go so far as to situate our relationship as completely equal or reciprocal. But, because I worked with fewer students of six to ten per class and because they were older in grades 3-5, conversation, collaboration, and student-led creativity became more common and successful. To be sure, a more skilled music educator than me could have found a way for the K-2 to have enacted participatory research practices. However, I did my best and was excited to at least find a place in the grades 3-5 classes that allowed us to be comfortably collaborative. In fact, before we developed Music History Recorder Karate, grade 3-5 students and I piloted a class called Musical Detectives in which I asked them to evaluate and create their own music appreciation class for young people.

Collaborating with Students: Music History Recorder Karate at the Global Scholars Academy

Six months after the Music and Storytelling class launched with K-1 in July 2017, I began another music class for grade 3-5 students in January 2018. This pilot class asked its

participants to evaluate and create their own music appreciation class for young people like themselves. Some activities in the pilot class involved evaluating historical music appreciation programs together, including radio scripts from the *Music Appreciation Hour*, video footage from the *Young People's Concerts* with Leonard Bernstein, and studying archival fan mail that young people wrote to Bernstein. The class culminated in a field trip to a 2017–2018 North Carolina Symphony Education Concert. It was in this pilot class that we compared "The Great Composers" and "The Women Composers" posters, discussed in Chapter 2, which pushed me to be more aware and intentional about the visual media that I used in the music room at GSA.

As a curriculum summary, I sent the following document to GSA's head-of-school before the program began:

Musical Detectives: How should YOU experience music?

Hundreds of music programs in the United States have proposed ideas for how young people should listen to and experience music. As a young person yourself, what do you think? Are programs of the past and present that have been designed for young people like you any good? What music do you find valuable, want to listen to and learn more about? **Rather than telling you how you should experience music, I want you to tell me.** Musical Detectives will critically engage with music programs of the past and present, and together will design a new program that answers the question, "How should YOU experience music?"

A true musical detective takes on many roles. You will be a listener, a performer, a historian, a researcher, an audience member, a student, a writer, an artist, a musician, a critic, and a creator. Together, we will listen to radio programs from the 1930s, watch television programs from the 1960s, and attend a North Carolina Symphony concert at Meymandi Hall in Raleigh. We will read letters written decades ago by young people the same ages as you. We will write letters to adults who create music programs for young people so you can ask them questions and tell them what you think. You will bring your favorite songs, exciting ideas and performance skills to our classroom as we determine what music our new program will include. To do so, we will dance, sing, and create music from a variety of musical genres, traditions, and practices. What music will you bring?

What is a music program?

Music programs in schools often teach young people how to sing or play an instrument. Music programs in places like radio stations, television stations, and symphony halls often teach young people how to listen to music. Usually an adult leads the program, determining what genre of music and specific songs that he or she thinks young people should care the most about.

Musical Detectives program plan

The Musical Detectives program will consist of three units:

1. PAST: Engaging with historical music programs in the United States created for young people.
2. PRESENT: Engaging with present-day music programs in the Triangle-area of North Carolina created for young people
3. CREATE: Creating their own music program (by and for young people)

Descriptions of curricular materials and activities

PAST: Curricular materials will be made up of rare archival materials that I have collected through my dissertation research at the Library of Congress in Washington, DC. The three main programs we will look at are NBC radio's 1928-1942 *Music Appreciation Hour*, CBS radio's 1939-1940 *Folk Music of America*, and CBS television's 1958-1972 *Young People's Concerts*. All three were nationally broadcast. Two include extensive collections of fan mail written by young people themselves. There are workbooks with classroom listening and music making activities to pair with broadcasts. Musical detectives will perform these activities and discuss their effectiveness. To begin preparing for our final unit, we will think about what aspects of these programs we like and may want to replicate as well as what we will change.

PRESENT: Through my research with the North Carolina Symphony's current programming for young people, we will use materials from their Education Concert series teacher workshop. This includes a workbook with activities to help us prepare for attending an Education Concert at Meymandi Concert Hall. After attending, we will write letters to the conductor much like young people from past programs (learned about in the previous unit) had done. We will also learn about other music programs, such as those on hip hop and rock music, offered for young people in the Triangle-area. Again, we discuss what we want to keep and change in our new program.

CREATE: Musical detectives will determine the genres of music, musicians, and performance practices in their own music program for young people. Detectives will have to justify their suggestions and explain why they are valuable in broad contexts. We will determine what aspects of our program are unique to the Global Scholar Academy and what aspects do we think all young people should learn about. Since I will simultaneously be teaching the kindergarten and first grade Music and Storytelling program, musical detectives may have the opportunity to design an activity for the younger students. I will carefully structure the creation of the program while staying true to the intention that the program is created by and for young people.

We will determine what aspects of our program are unique to the Global Scholar Academy and what aspects do we think all young people should learn about. Since I will simultaneously be teaching the kindergarten and first grade Music and Storytelling program, musical detectives may have the opportunity to design an activity for the younger students. I will carefully structure the creation of the program while staying true to the intention that the program is created by and for young people.

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[467] Materials by author, last updated December 16, 2017.

Like my initial curriculum and lesson plans for the Music and Storytelling class (see Chapter 4), the wordiness and formatting of this document show I was still taking an approach more similar to university-level pedagogy than elementary-level music. It also shows that I was unfamiliar with how materials are shared between administrators, parents, and students in an elementary school setting. But somehow, through a means that was never clear to me, six students signed up for the original "Musical Detectives" class that ran from January to March 2018.

The "detective" work and input of the students from the original class centered a participatory research practice, and students' input eventually became a core factor in transitioning the class to Music History Recorder Karate. As a flute player myself I remembered recorders as dreadful, but when one day I mentioned them to the Musical Detectives class, the students enthusiastically responded that they wanted to learn how to play. In another activity, they completed worksheets about songs and musicians they listened to. A few of them listed "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing" as a favorite song because they were learning it in chorus.[468] It was motivating to hear that the students were already engaged in a piece of music with a rich historical context and meaning. I arranged it for recorder, created a worksheet about its composer John Rosamond Johnson, and assigned it as the orange belt in our developing recorder karate

[468] In this case, however, I chose a musical object that was suggested by the children but had first been curated for them by another adult, their choir teacher. It could have been more powerful to center a youth-culture object that they had likely found at the suggestion of other children, not adults. This worksheet activity did, in fact, demonstrate the many influences of children's musical tastes from both inside and outside of school. Two of the boys brought up a YouTube music video that the other students were familiar with and enthusiastic about. I went home to watch the video and consider its incorporation into the class. I was disappointed by the grotesque humor and cursing that made it inappropriate to use as a teaching object. On children's affinity for the grotesque, see Bickford, *Schooling New Media*, 54. On differences between "school" music and music children enjoy on their own time, see Kratus, "Music Education at the Tipping Point." Differences between school music and children's listening music at home also came up in several interviews that I conducted with children after they had attended an NCS Education Concert.

curriculum. I designed this worksheet with another aspect of student feedback in mind, the importance of visual portraits.

In addition to the Musical Detectives students' input, the other core factor in transitioning to Music History Recorder Karate was the accessibility of the "Recorder Karate" curriculum widely used by elementary-level music educators. The original *Recorder Karate: A Highly Motivational Method for Young Players* by Barb Philipak workbook was published in 2001 and has been used widely by music educators ever since.[469] It is also not uncommon for teachers to sub out tunes and adjust the curriculum in their own ways. Music teacher Thomas Amoriello Jr. offers one such example in his adapted Guitar Karate curriculum.[470] Sometimes this is as simple as subbing out one tune to fit the season, such as learning "Jingle Bells" for the purple belt instead of the original purple-belt tune, "Old MacDonald Had a Farm."[471] Its malleability is even a selling point of the curriculum itself. The opening material of the curriculum workbook includes a section with helpful tips "If you choose to make your own Recorder Karate song list."[472]

The "music history" spin on the Recorder Karate curriculum comes from my primary research questions on how classical music is represented to children, and the ways in which educational resources and expectations for "classical music" and "music history" learning

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[469] Barb Philipak, *Recorder Karate: A Highly Motivational Method for Young Players* (Wauwatosa: Plank Road Publishing, 2002); Adam Perlmutter, "General Music: A Black Belt in Recorder Playing?" *Teaching Music* 17, issue 6 (April 2010): 52; Joshua Floyd, "The Effect of Primary Instrument Instruction on Music Acquisition" (MA thesis, University of Arizona, 2019); Heather Nelson Shouldice, "'Everybody has something': One Teacher's Beliefs About Musical Ability and Their Connection to Teaching Practice and Classroom Culture," *Research Studies in Music Education* 41, no. 2 (2019): 199.

[470] Thomas Amoriello Jr., "Guitar Class in the Yellowhammer State," National Association for Music Education, July 18, 2019, https://nafme.org/guitar-class-yellowhammer-state/.

[471] I spoke with a group of fourth-grade students in the audience at an NCS Education Concert who learned *Recorder Karate* with this adaptation.

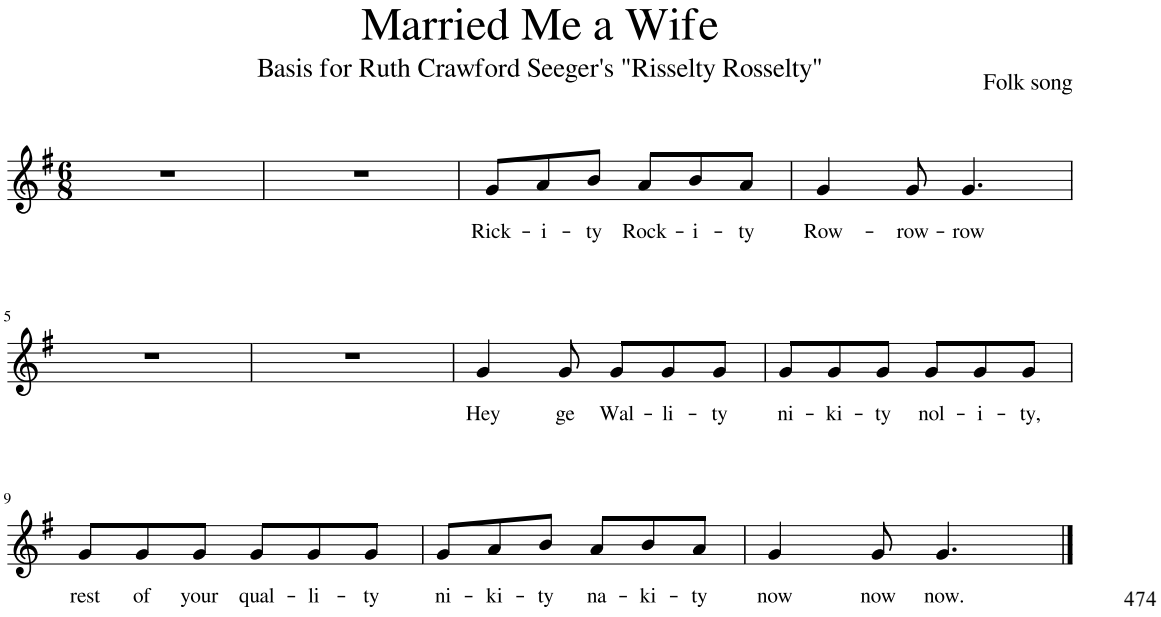
[472] Philipak, *Recorder Karate*, 1.

overlap (see Chapter 4). By positioning GSA curricula as incorporating "music history" into music education, I clarified my sense of purpose, allowed a mechanism for bringing in lessons experimenting with classical music learning, and used terminology that is open to multiple music traditions. A music history approach also meant that I did not have to define everything in terms of genre, classifying whether or not something is or isn't classical music. In the "Music History Recorder Karate" curriculum, I curated two tunes—"Rissolty Rossolty" and "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing" to fit my curricular goals, each sharing a different relationship with the terms "music history" and "classical music."

There are several ways that we adhered to traditional aspects of the Recorder Karate curriculum in Music History Recorder Karate. We first learned "Hot Cross Buns," the original book's introductory tune, to earn the white belts. A student earns a "belt" when they successfully perform a tune. These belts are represented as colored ribbon that the student ties onto the bell of her or his recorder, a trophy demonstrating accomplishment. For the yellow belt, we switched out "Gently Sleep" for "Rissolty Rossolty." "Rissolty Rossolty" is the alternative name for "Married Me a Wife," an American folk tune traditionally sung by boys to tease girls that they are courting. The tune was featured on a historical music appreciation radio broadcast for children, FMA, hosted by folkloristic Alan Lomax from 1939–40. Lomax was friends with composer and fellow folklorist Ruth Crawford Seeger and her husband Charles Seeger, and he commissioned Crawford to arrange the tune for orchestra. Crawford was one of twelve composers from whom Lomax and CBS, the radio network broadcasting the program, commissioned works.[473] I was drawn to the song because of its potential for critical engagement. Its lyrics, Crawford's use of the tune alongside another called Phoebe, and her personal history

[473] Judith Tick, *Ruth Crawford Seeger: A Composer's Search for American Music* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

presented a rich resource for discussing gender roles and career ambition in a distinctively classical music setting. In addition to distributing the tune for students to learn on recorders, I also created a worksheet about Crawford that paired with the tune.



[474] Transcribed by author, last updated March 14, 2018.

July 3, 1901-November 18, 1953

Ruth Crawford Seeger

U.S. Composer and Folk Music Specialist

Musical Upbringing

Ruth Crawford was born in East Liverpool, Ohio. Her family moved several times, living in Ohio, Missouri, and Indiana during her childhood. Ruth began piano lessons at age six and she enjoyed writing poetry. When she was a teenager, she aspired to become an "authoress or poetess." She became an accomplished pianist by the of high school and started teaching her own students in college. She wrote her first musical compositions for her piano students in 1918 and 1919.

Career and "Risselty Rosselty"

In 1930, she received the Guggenheim Fellowship—a highly prestigious award! She soon married her husband, Charles Seeger, and became known as Ruth Crawford Seeger. They moved to Washington, DC in 1936, where they were good friends with folklorist Alan Lomax. Alan asked Ruth to compose a piece for his children's radio program, *Folk Music of America*. Ruth wrote "Risselty Rosselty" for orchestra and it premiered on CBS radio in 1940. Ruth's husband discouraged her from composing orchestral music so she turned more of her attention to folk music and to raising their family.

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[475] Materials by author, last updated March 14, 2018.

I also distributed archival materials from the FMA broadcasts to the students directly. The following section on the incorporation of "Rissolty Rossolty" in the 2019–2020 NCS Education Concert program includes a more detailed description of how students and I formed lesson activities around the piece and how this influenced the NCS workbook lesson plans.

The second song we incorporated into our music history version of recorder karate was "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing," also known as the Black National Anthem.[476] James Weldon Johnson wrote the lyrics and his brother, US composer and singer John Rosamond Johnson, composed its music. James Weldon Johnson is the better known of the brothers largely because of his work as a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) executive—he was in fact the first African American to hold this position. James is more frequently credited with "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing" than his brother because of his broader political activism.[477] But in Music History Recorder Karate, our focus was on John Rosamond Johnson, the composer. John, born in 1873, grew up performing and composing in a variety of musical styles from ragtime piano music to operettas.

This song was quite pedagogically difficult, with several new notes and a larger range than previously introduced in the other tunes. It would be more appropriate as a brown or black belt, but our curriculum did not run long enough to get that far. I split the tune into two halves to count, in the first year, for orange and green belts, and, in the second year, for green and blue belts.

[476] Imani Perry, *May We Forever Stand: A History of the Black National Anthem* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018).

[477] Noelle Morrissette, "James Weldon Johnson," Oxford Bibliographies: African American Studies, last modified June 28, 2016, DOI: 10.1093/OBO/9780190280024-0042.

August 11, 1873-November 11, 1954

John Rosamond Johnson

U.S. Composer and Singer

Musical Upbringing

John Rosamond Johnson was born in Jacksonville, FL two years after his older brother, James Weldon Johnson, was born. John went to the New England Conservatory in Boston, MA and then he went to London for his musical training. His early compositions included ragtime piano music and operettas that incorporated Black musical styles.

Career and "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing"

John both composed and performed music throughout his international career. He and James often collaborated together, with John writing the music and James writing the lyrics. On February 12, 1900, 500 Black American schoolchildren sang the premiere performance of John and James' famous hymn, "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing" Jacksonville, FL to celebrate President Lincoln's birthday. The song was soon adopted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). It is often referred to as the Black National Anthem.

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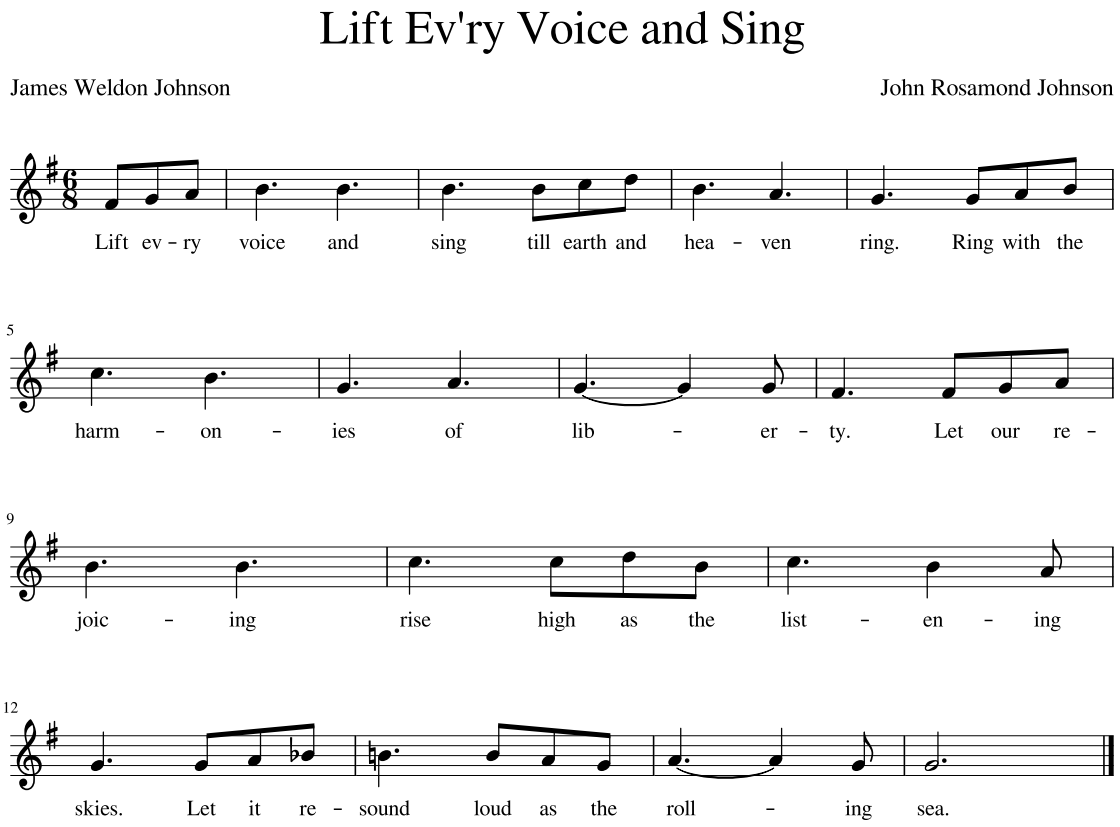
[478] Materials by author, last updated March 14, 2018.



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During the 2018–2019 school year, Music History Recorder Karate became a popular extended-day class and led to a deeper engagement with "Rissolty Rossolty," in particular.[480] This school year even concluded in a large musical showcase for parents, including performances by two classes of recorder students.

However, while many of the students began learning "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing," our class time and the school schedule did not allow lessons frequently enough to also go in-depth

[479] Transcribed by author, last updated February 28, 2018.

[480] In the Introduction to this dissertation I explain how GSA follows a full day schedule. All students are dismissed at 6:00 pm. The extended-day schedule runs from 3:00 or 3:45 pm, depending on the grade level, and ends at 6:00 pm.

with this tune. There were more students interested in Music History Recorder Karate than I could fit into one class, and the combination of GSA's schedule with my personal schedule did not allow us to have two concurrent classes. Rather, administrators and I decided to shorten the curriculum length so that one class ran from January–March 2019 and the second class, with new students (who started with the "Hot Cross Buns" white belt) ran from April–June 2019. When it came time to end the first class in March, the students wanted to continue so I did end up teaching two concurrent recorder classes. However, the class of returning students ran from 5:00-6:00 pm—while students are supposed to stay until 6:00 pm, many parents and guardians pick up their children starting around 5:00 pm. The students' attitude stayed positive and I enjoyed continuing our relationships, but it was difficult to make progress as a class with the resulting inconsistencies in attendance.

Furthermore, our performance came in May so most of our energies went towards preparing for the performance rather than digging into history-focused lessons. Like some of the experiences I mentioned in Chapter 4, preparing for performances helped me understand how music teachers prioritize their time and lesson goals. Even though my intention with my engagement at GSA was to create innovate curricula and resources, the performances were clearly rewarding for students and their families. For the sake of community engagement that prioritizes community partners' interests, this performance and those prior were certainly worthwhile.

One disappointment in emphasizing Crawford's "Rissolty Rossolty" over "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing," however, is that it replicated one of the criticisms I make in Chapter 3—that initiatives to critically engage with classical music's history of composer exclusivity celebrates white women's contributions more loudly than those of people-of-color. As I have explained,

pedagogically this is due to my transcription of "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing" for recorder being more challenging than "Rissolty Rossolty." The following section demonstrates how the programming of "Rissolty Rossolty" on an NCS Education Concert came out of an NCS-led interest in emphasizing women composers. It would not be the first time that logistic considerations outweighed ideology, and I continue to feel troubled that I replicated some of the systemic inequities that have long been present in representations of classical music for children in my attempt to change them.

Collaborating with Institutions: Ruth Crawford Seeger From the Library of Congress to the Global Scholars Academy and the North Carolina Symphony

Collaborating with the NCS to program "Rissolty Rossolty" demonstrates a flexible understanding of participatory research that involved institutions becoming co-collaborators. In the opening of this chapter, I explained how, while I had originally intended for all of my work at GSA to be participatory research, it became difficult to justify this with respect to the K-2 Music and Storytelling curriculum. Alternatively, while I originally planned for my research with the NCS to be ethnographic research, it evolved into something that looked a lot like participatory research. The biggest surprise to me was reconceiving of community partners stemming from my archival research. The initiative to program "Rissolty Rossolty" in fact traces back to my archival research experiences at the Library of Congress in the summer and fall of 2017. To a large extent, programming this specific piece was motivated by the interests of the Library of Congress and my consideration of stakeholders there as community partners. As such, this section demonstrates how participatory research work is necessarily flexible and constantly evolving not only in efforts to align with community partners' interests but also in defining who those community partners are. Furthermore, the "Rissolty Rossolty" project resulted in a

collaboration that both fulfilled and showed the limitations of taking a participatory approach toward addressing how classical music is represented to children at the institutional level.

The eventual programming of "Rissolty Rossolty" on the 2019–2020 NCS Education Concert series traces back to 2017, when I began studying documents on a historical educational radio broadcast for children, *Folk Music of America* (FMA), at the Library of Congress's American Folklife Center. From October 1939 to April 1940, folkloristic and Library of Congress archivist Alan Lomax began his first radio series when he hosted twenty-five FMA radio broadcasts for the CBS American School of the Air. These broadcasts, listened to during the school day by students in upper grades and high school, included a wide array of folk music from sea shanties to children's songs of play. Lomax and his collaborators also prioritized musical diversity as they featured works by women composers Ruth Crawford Seeger and Julia Smith, Black American performers including Huddie "Leadbelly" Ledbetter, and broadcast themes such as "Poor Farmer Songs" and "Hobo Songs." As folk music scholar Rachel Donaldson has argued, the *Folk Music of America* broadcasts show Lomax's early concern for multiculturalism.[481]

Shortly after beginning this research, I participated in a work-a-thon at the Library of Congress's American Folklife Center in September 2017 aimed at making the Alan Lomax radio series more accessible to the public. Throughout the week, my work-a-thon colleagues and I discussed Lomax's idea of cultural equity and how this aligned with our present goal of accessibility.[482] Even early on, Lomax's engagement with many different styles of music and

[481] Donaldson, "Broadcasting Diversity."

[482] "About Alan," The Association for Cultural Equity, last accessed April 7, 2020, http://www.culturalequity.org/alan-lomax/about-alan.

identities of people also extended to his audiences. The American Folklife Center's rich body of material on the FMA broadcasts make it clear that Lomax engaged with radio listeners in multifaceted ways, such as through fan mail, classroom manuals, sing-a-longs, and content sharing. Furthermore, **t**he work-a-thon connected to a larger effort across the library as a whole to broaden audiences and access, making the Library of Congress more like a public library than primarily an ivory tower for researchers.[483] Bringing the FMA back to schoolchildren, whether at GSA or the NCS, fit squarely into this mission.

Programming "Rissolty Rossolty" at the NCS, in fact, stemmed from the Library of Congress's mission for more public engagement and an idea among NCS administrators to foreground women composers. Shortly after the work-a-thon, Sarah Baron, the NCS Director of Education until 2018, shared with me an idea for the NCS to program all-women composers on the 2019-2020 Education Concert program. This would commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of the 1920 ratification of the nineteenth amendment, which granted voting rights to (primarily white) women in the United States. In the midst of learning about this possibility for the NCS, I had an idea to integrate it with the Library of Congress work-a-thon's mission for archival materials to reach broader audiences. In October 2017, I reached out to the work-a-thon organizers and Baron with the following idea for…

> …a collaboration with the Library of Congress's American Folklife Center to perform Ruth Crawford Seeger's "Risselty Rosselty" on the 2019-2020 Education Concert program celebrating the 100th anniversary of US women's suffrage. "Risselty Rosselty" was commissioned by the CBS radio *American School of the Air* for the 1939-1940 season of its *Folk Music of America* series. *Folk Music of America* (FMA) was hosted by folkloristic Alan Lomax and broadcast during the school day in classrooms across the United States. It was an early example of nationwide educational radio broadcasting. It would be fitting for the NCS to perform "Risselty Rosselty" on the 2019-2020 Education Concert program for two primary reasons 1) NCS Education Concerts and

[483] Carla Hayden, "Opening Message: Enriching the Library Experience, The FY2019-2023 Strategic Place of the Library of Congress," Library of Congress, last accessed March 14, 2020, https://www.loc.gov/strategic-plan/.

> FMA broadcasts are both programmed for schoolchildren 2) Ruth Crawford Seeger is an important woman composer and historical musical figure.
>
> CBS commissioned twelve orchestral arrangements of folk songs written by modernist American composers, including Aaron Copland, Roy Harris, and William Grant Still, for the *Folk Music of America* series. CBS also distributed teacher and student manuals, much like those that the NCS has created based on its Education Concerts. Ruth Crawford Seeger, wife of folkloristic Charles Seeger, was a both a folk music specialist and a composer. She is a canonic figure in American music, influencing composers and historians alike. She might have become even better know if her husband had not discouraged her from continuing to compose. The Library of Congress (LOC) holds many valuable materials related to her "Risselty Rosselty," including the original manuscript, the full radio broadcast on which the piece premiered, broadcast scripts, fan mail from children and adult listeners about the radio broadcasts, and teacher manuals. There are many ways in which the LOC could incorporate these materials into NCS Education Concert materials, such as through teaching materials, the teacher workshop in August, and live performances.[484]

Both the NCS and the LOC personnel were interested in the collaboration and offered timelines for how to keep the project moving forward.

However, knowledge, resources, and logistics soon created roadblocks. When I spoke with an NCS programming manger about the 2019–2020 season, Amanda Meliosky, she expressed enthusiasm for showcasing women composers but stated, “we didn’t know if there were enough” to fill an entire concert program. The Education Concerts include eight short works of about three-minutes-long each. Feminist scholars of music history could easily rattle off eight works fitting the bill. However, the NCS also has to consider copyright permissions, instrumentation, and budget concerns. Furthermore, personnel soon went through changes, Sarah Baron and Amanda Meliosky both left their positions at the NCS by the summer of 2018. After timelines had been pushed back and without any known financial support from either institution, I did not push the project much more when I found out about their leaves.

[484] Author, email message to Sarah Baron, October 24, 2017.

But that would not be the end of the story for "Rissolty Rossolty" at the NCS. I connected with the new Education Director, Jason Spencer, in January 2019 and without my prompting he found old emails from me about the collaboration. With Spencer's encouragement, we revived the idea, just in time before a programming meeting about the 2019–2020 Education Concert season. I hurried to update materials and send him a summary of the project. While he was excited about the Crawford piece, it soon became clear that the larger idea of an all-women's program had fallen by the wayside. In an interview with Spencer shortly following the programming meeting, he explained the vision for the upcoming season's Education Concert:

> JS: Yeah. We will occasionally look for specific significant events that happened in history for the season. I think specifically for next year being the 100th anniversary of women's suffrage we're trying to do a focus on women composers. But going back to our limited resources we're finding trouble in doing that. That's one of the things that helps, looking ahead. But also trying to not repeat things year after year or some things that may have been done three of four years ago. That's sort of the future.
>
> ST: Yeah. So the women's suffrage thing. When I first started talking with Sarah, that idea was out there. I don't know whose idea it really was or where it came from.
>
> JS: It could have been part of Sarah's idea. But also DNCR, the Department of Natural and Cultural Resources, has a big emphasis on that because we are part of the DNCR. We receive a lot of funding from them and they have a big theme on women's rights and women's suffrage celebration in the 19–20 school year. So that's part of the reason, I imagine…Where it stands now, I don't think we're able to do an entire women's composers program, which would be great [to be able to do one].
>
> ST: Would you mind going into what prevented that? I'm just curious.
>
> JS: I think, I don't know. I imagine cost and instrumentation. I don't know, maybe there are ways we could have done it. I don't know.
>
> ST: Okay, so there wasn't a specific…
>
> JS: Honestly, when I was talking to Wes, I don't think he really knew that was a thing, to do an all women's program. Ultimately it comes down to his decision on

> what he thinks will be great, but I mean, there's a lot of other factors that go into it. Not one reason in particular. [485]

This conversation with Spencer reveals several forms of resource limitations that prevented the all-women composers program from becoming a reality. The personnel change in Education Directors may have resulted in why Wesley Schultz, the NCS's assistant music director who conducts and determines the program for the majority of the Education Concerts, did not even know about the idea in the first place. Further limitations included "cost and instrumentation" as well as that "there's a lot of other factors that go into it." Recalling Amanda Meliosky's concern that "we didn't know if there were enough" women composers for an entire program, resources in knowledge also inhibited the program.

Even though an all-women composers Education Concert would not be possible for the 2019–2020 season, the "Rissolty Rossolty" idea stayed on the docket. But another obstacle arose. Spencer contacted the publisher, who negotiated the copyright price but still quoted well beyond the NCS's budget. It seemed to dead end until Spencer chimed back in and said the program was moving forward with "Rissolty Rossolty." I was surprised and delighted. Spencer told me over the phone that nothing radical caused the decision, other than his urging that they could find room in the budget for at least one woman on the program. The NCS "found the money," as he put it, in the elusive way large institutions can shuffle funding around and make it happen.

At the same time that life came back into the collaboration, I had been chugging along at GSA through the "Rissolty Rossolty" yellow belt portion of Music History Recorder Karate at GSA. In fact, these lessons became quite extensive, and the students gained an affection for the piece that also grew my own. To bring the piece into the classroom, I first arranged "Rissolty

[485] Spencer interview. ST=Sarah Tomlinson. JS=Jason Spencer.

Rossolty" for recorder in the key of G. I also edited photos of the 1939–1940 American School of the Air teacher instructions that included sheet music for learning to sing the song.[486]

When I transcribed the tune to G major, its notes became the same as those used in "Hot Cross Buns," the white belt Recorder Karate tune that the GSA students had already learned to play. Two pedagogical challenges in the recorder version of "Married Me a Wife" aka "Rissolty Rossolty" are articulation, with the repeated G's that challenge students to tongue correctly, and counting in 6/8 meter. These challenges made the tune an appropriate for the yellow belt because, while it did not introduce new notes, it introduced new musical concepts and techniques.

Before learning the tune on recorders, we sang the tune. We first sang it in F major so that we could sing along with the original radio broadcast. Then, we listened to the radio broadcast. In the broadcast, Alan Lomax features Aunt Molly Jackson, a famed Appalachian mountain folk singer. Jackson explains that "sometimes the boys would sing a song to tease the gals," offering "Married Me a Wife" as an example.[487] Then, Lomax leads a radio singalong of the song. The GSA students did not chime in right away, but soon joined me when I started singing the chorus part for the singalong. Lomax sang the verses, and the GSA students and I continued singing in the choruses through the remainder of the song. At the end, I asked them, why did Aunt Molly Jackson mention that the song was sung by boys to tease the girls? What were they teasing them about?

To answer these questions, we looked to the lyrics. I asked the students to explain what the lyrics meant. At first they pointed out the different actions, but soon caught onto the song's

[486] See Figures 12-17.

[487] Aunt Molly Jackson, "Folk Music of America No. 13: Love Songs," January 23, 1940, Disc number AFC 1939/002: AFS 13,495B Alan Lomax CBS Radio Series Collection, American Folklife Center, LOC.

irony. Is the husband happy with his wife? I asked. No! the students replied. K, a fifth-grader, confidently explained that he thought it was dumb for boys to tease girls that they like. He thought boys should be able to be clear about how they felt and be brave in their ability to "ask a girl out." But some of the girls understood the sentiment, as D, a flirtatious fourth-grader who often greeted me at the beginning of class by updating me on her crushes, admitting that she sometimes teased boys that she liked. C was upset, however, at the nature of the items that the boys were teasing the girls about. She questioned why girls should be expected to be good at the chores of cooking and cleaning the home. K, always humorous, stiffed his lip to say that he hoped his wife would be good at cleaning, but he knew that he would have to do some cleaning himself, too.

The students did have mixed reactions about the gendered expectations of the household roles. To me, this ambivalence suggested that they were trying to negotiate these expectations in themselves. In a separate context, C had asked me if it was required for girls to wear dresses for an upcoming performance. She also chooses to wear pants rather than a skirt for her school uniform, and she does not engage in a normative femininity like many of the other fifth-grade girls. Considering the overlapping meanings between household duties being gendered and the gendered aspects of romance, sexuality, and hormone changes that the students are encountering and negotiating, these conversations demonstrate a critical time for students to be able to think through both their individual negotiations and broader values about gender, labor, and expression.

Before listening to the piece as a whole, I designed an activity to guide the students through an excerpt from the original radio broadcast, titled "Love Songs," upon which it premiered. I created a worksheet to give students facts to listen for, with the hope that their

comprehension would improve. We listened once through, and their listening comprehension showed a significant division across grade levels. The fifth-graders got the majority of the answers on the first listen, while the third-graders needed extra listenings, especially with pauses between the questions, to get everything down. This was a bit of a less exciting lesson, but one that proved productive during the following class when they drew on the knowledge from this lesson to interpret how the tunes "Phoebe" and "Callahan" interacted with the meaning of "Married Me a Wife."

Crawford's incorporation of the folk song "Phoebe" into her arrangement of "Rissolty Rossolty" also drives this point home. As Lawrence Welch announced on the original 1940 FMA broadcast upon which Crawford's piece premiered, in "Phoebe," the wife makes fun of her husband. Crawford's clever use of "Phoebe" as a response to "Married Me a Wife." Crawford's use of this song demonstrates her own agency asserting that women also deserve a strong voice in their relationships. Furthermore, as a woman composer in an environment of mostly male composers, Crawford used a medium that typically silences her to make her voice heard.

To guide the GSA students towards representing the different melodies in Crawford's arrangement, I assigned each a different representational prop. At first, we only discussed the two melodies, "Married Me a Wife" and "Phoebe." "Married Me a Wife" was represented with a scarf and "Phoebe" with a beanbag.[488] We stopped about halfway through the recording—the students distinguished between the tunes in the first half adeptly—I instructed the students to rest their props and listen to the remainder. This was because at this point in the music, Crawford incorporates another tune, "Callahan." Moreover, the second half of "Rissolty Rossolty" features more complex musical structures, and I did not want the students to be distracted by the props

[488] It helped that neither of these props make noise, so they allowed students an external object to aid their listening but did not contribute to the sounds that they were listening to.

during this first listen through the more complex music. We listened all the way through, and I asked the students about their responses. “It sounds like Irish music,” said E. I explained that fiddle tunes often trace to influences from British Isles folk music. Coincidentally, this class occurred only a few days before St. Patrick’s Day. We decided to embrace it and do an Irish jig. I had learned Irish dance for a couple of years growing up, and there was one basic step that I remember. I taught the students the step, and then we isolated the “Callahan” section of the music. The tempo of the music made it a little tricky, but we figured out a way to fit it all together. To our collective delight, we decided to dance when we heard “Callahan” and use the props when we heard “Married Me a Wife” and “Phoebe.” This worked wonderfully, kept the students engaged throughout the entire piece, and allowed them to listen closely to the same musical elements that allowed us to analyze the deeper cultural and identity implications of the piece.

Since incorporating “Rissolty Rossolty” into the GSA recorder class curriculum, I have codified the lessons for inclusion in the 2019–2020 NCS Education Concert student and teacher workbooks. Taking on this role with the NCS allowed for a different kind of participatory research, one with a classical music institution directly curating music and music history for young people.

In writing the workbook materials for “Rissolty Rossolty,” my challenge was to create lessons using primary source documents from the Library of Congress that encourage children to have critical conversations about gender roles. Furthermore, with its overlapping folk songs passing between different instruments and tonalities, the NCS assigned Crawford’s “Rissolty Rossolty” to pair with the musical element of texture, so the workbook materials also needed to illustrate that concept. Activities on “Rissolty Rossolty” that I developed with the GSA Musical

Detectives and Music History Recorder Karate classes had addressed the first two points, primary sources and gender roles. As shown, student observations and interpretations of the primary sources directly led to analyses of how song lyrics represented gender and how Crawford's gender impacted her career. In adapting lessons for the Education Concert materials' broader audience of teachers and students, it also became clear that integrating primary sources in music classes offers broader opportunities for music teachers to collaborate with classroom teachers and to meet cross-curricular goals. The GSA recorder class lessons took place in February and March 2019, I developed the NCS materials in June 2019, and the NCS Education Concerts featuring "Rissolty Rossolty" run from September 2019 through May 2020. The NCS teacher workbooks include four lesson activities building upon each other sequentially. The student workbooks are smaller and more colorful, with a photograph of Crawford and biographical information.

Because Crawford composed "Rissolty Rossolty" for the FMA radio broadcast that also curated educational workbooks, there were many ways to integrate primary sources from the original 1940 broadcast into the 2019–2020 NCS workbooks. The first NCS lesson activity, in fact, replicates the 1940 activity of a radio singalong to "Married Me a Wife" using sheet music included in the 1939–1940 *American School of the Air* Teacher's Manual and Classroom Guide and the original radio recording. The students and their teacher were to have practiced the song in class before the program broadcast on the radio.[489] Then, Lomax would lead them in a singalong to the song. The NCS workbooks include pages from the original FMA workbook, which teachers can copy and distribute to their students or display on a PowerPoint slide.

[489] One hitch was that CBS made slight changes to the scheduling. The Love Songs program featuring the "Married Me a Wife" singalong and "Rissolty Rossolty" premiere was originally scheduled for January 30, but actually aired a week earlier on January 23, 1940.

Additionally, the NCS created a CD with recordings of all of the orchestral works on the Education Concert program. The 2019–2020 CD includes an additional track, an edited version of the FMA Love Songs program from January 23, 1940. For the radio singalong, teachers play the radio recording of Lomax's singalong using the NCS CD. After the singalong, students and their teacher are to discuss the lyrics of the verses, like I had with my recorder students at GSA. Through this first activity, students learn the main folk song used in "Rissolty Rossolty," contextualize the historical origins of the piece, and engage in critical discussions about the role of music in society.

The NCS activities, included at the end of this chapter, continue guiding teachers and students to the cumulative final activity, in which they listen to Crawford's "Rissolty Rossolty" in its entirety and associate its contrasting tunes and textures with different props. The NCS teacher workbook includes a listening map with time markings that match the orchestral recording of the piece on the CD. Students prepare for this final activity by first creating contrasting musical textures using "Married Me a Wife" and then listening to additional excerpts from the original 1940 radio broadcast. The NCS workbook materials include the transposed arrangement of "Married Me a Wife" from the Music History Recorder Karate curriculum with the option of incorporating recorder performance of the tune into an activity focused on texture. A listening worksheet and answer key pair with a third activity, when students listen to the FMA radio broadcast excerpt describing Crawford's "Rissolty Rossolty" composition. The biographical information on Crawford in the student workbook encourages students to make further connections, particularly how Crawford's status as a woman composer impacted her personal and professional life.

Putting historical materials directly into the hands and ears of students urges them to make their own analyses of music and music history. In the case of Ruth Crawford Seeger, she, like most composers of marginalized identities in Western classical music culture, continues to be a composer that many music students do not learn about until they are taking university-level coursework. By introducing young people to composers beyond the canonic white, European men more typically represented in K-12 music history materials, music teachers can foster questions among students about which composers are represented most often and who decides the norms of representation. Guiding students through interpreting materials from the past, such as educational materials from a 1940 radio program, primed them to develop their own critical lenses in understanding culture, identity and history. With the NCS performing "Rissolty Rossolty" around the state of North Carolina throughout the 2019–2020 school year, many more students have had the opportunity to engage in conversations about how gender expectations impact song lyrics and career paths. Indeed, there are many possibilities for students listening to this year's NCS Education Concerts. Much of this collaboration between the Library of Congress and the NCS, informed by my students' insights at GSA, appeared in the December 2019 issue of the *Music Educators Journal* when I guest authored the Library of Congress's regular column in the journal, Link to the Library.

Conclusion

While the "Rissolty Rossolty" unit demonstrates how my intervention as a musicologist in a music education setting can led to broader curricula materials, it also evidences the perpetuation of issues that I criticize in previous chapters. On the 2019–2020 Education Concert program, Crawford was the only woman composer, echoing some of the tokenistic gestures of

previous years' programs that I criticize in Chapter 2. The 2019–2020 Education Concert also included Cuban composer Ernesto Lecuona, so it did somewhat break with past trends by including both a composer-of-color *and* a woman, rather than just one or the other (or, in the case of the 2016–2017 Education Concert, one woman-of-color, Florence Price). However, by centering critical discussions about classical music with respect to gender, it also reinforced how gender is a more acceptable form of politicizing music making than discussing race, as I criticize in Chapter 3. There are pedagogical reasons why "Rissolty Rossolty" worked particularly well as the Music History Recorder Karate curriculum yellow belt, but my emphasis on the tune could also be traced to my own biases as a white woman more comfortable discussing (white) feminist politics than racial politics, even though it is a bias I ideologically disavow.

These collaborations also highlighted sustainability of engagement as another challenge. While the GSA students were enthusiastic about the Music History Recorder Karate class and there was much interest for new students to participate, the class ended when I needed to step back from my role at the school to write my dissertation. Concluding the project on the terms of my university degree rather than what would be in the best interest of GSA students continues to frustrate me. Admittedly, GSA administrators, my dissertation advisor, and I did work closely during the fall of 2018 in creating a plan to sustain the music curricula beyond my personal engagement at the school. During this time, I was clear with GSA administrators that I would not be able to keep teaching classes when the 2018–2019 school year ended. In the January–June 2019 recorder classes, I told my students that I was in school writing my dissertation, and that I could not make promises to them about what would happen when I left to finish my dissertation. However, it was still frustrating to offer them an instrument with successive skill-building, then walk away. I did my best to explain what a dissertation is, but I still think the reason may have

seemed abstract to them. The curriculum we developed together had larger impacts through its integration at the NCS, but a sustained impact on the students I care for at GSA would have been especially meaningful.

To be sure, sustainability is particularly challenging for graduate student researchers. In my graduate coursework on earning a Graduate Certificate in Participatory Research, it was a common concern that, unlike the faculty engaged in community-based collaborations, the span of time we could commit to our communities is limited. Some of my peers had sustained relationships due to previous connections to local North Carolina communities or by situating their research projects in places where they had existing roots or personal relationships. However, many others fit my situation of moving from far away to my graduate institution and connecting with a local community where I had little previous experience and limited ability to predict if I would be able to sustain the relationship beyond my graduation. During the two years of my intense involvement with GSA, I felt connected to the school's community and I did my best to honor my students' best interests. But, in order to write my dissertation, I then had to disconnect, and it was difficult to see many of the changes that I hoped might be sustained slowly slip away. Even still, it is possible some of them will have a more lasting impact. In a meeting recent at the time of my writing with the current GSA head-of-school, she said they would soon be starting up music classes for K-3 centering on historical picture books about music, in line with our Music and Storytelling curriculum.

Stepping back, the broad vision of this dissertation calls for the integration of musicological knowledge about critical approaches to the classical music canon with common practices in how children first learn about classical music. This chapter addressed that vision by linking knowledge transmission to usable products for use in music classrooms and children's

concerts. However, the challenge of community sustainability causes me to pause before eliciting a call to action for more musicologists employ participatory research methods. Musicology does not have an established practice of engaged, applied, or participatory research. Should it develop one? Should more musicologists enter into the messy webs and outcomes of participatory research? I am cautious because, as aspects of my work have shown, public-facing scholarship can replicate rather than counteract systems of inequity.

Furthermore, it can be challenging to situate the messy work of engagement into the organized work of scholarship. For years, I avoided writing academically on my research with GSA by giving conference papers on the archival and ethnographic components of this project. This is notable because I spent substantially more time and energy on my research with GSA than any other research site or methodology. While I felt a sense of personal purpose as I sang, laughed, and danced with children who I watched grow, literally in inches and new teeth, for over two years, I often felt disconnected from my academic motivations and unable to articulate how to situate this work within my research. In all honesty, much of the work felt like a mess. But there is a scholarly discourse on messiness, and this has been something of a revelation. Or, it might even be a resistance to revelation. Justyna Deszcz-Trybunczak and her colleagues discuss how, "in [childhood studies scholars'] efforts to emulate the precision of science, they may be compelled to clean up 'the mess of the participatory process' (Spyrou 2018, p. 184) for the sake of ensuring that their participatory projects produce desirable outcomes."[490] In writing about this work, I do not seek to "clean up" all the messes that it produced but rather, I seek to share both the successes and limitations of its participatory process.

[490] Justyna Deszcz-Trybunczak et al., "Productive Remembering of Childhood: Child-Adult Memory-Work with the School Literary Canon," *Humanities* 8, issue 2 (April 2019): 74.

2019–2020 North Carolina Symphony Education Concert Student Workbook pages on Ruth Crawford's "Rissolty Rossolty." Written by Sarah Tomlinson, published by the North Carolina Symphony.

2019–2020 North Carolina Symphony Education Concert Teacher Handbook pages on Ruth Crawford's "Rissolty Rossolty." Written by Sarah Tomlinson, published by the North Carolina Symphony

Ruth CRAWFORD

BORN: July 3, 1901, in East Liverpool, Ohio
DIED: November 18, 1953, in Chevy Chase, Maryland

Biography (in Student Book)

Ruth Crawford was born in East Liverpool, OH. She grew up in Florida and studied piano, music theory and composition in Chicago. She wrote as a teenager describing herself as an aspiring "poetess." She soon became a piano teacher and wrote her first music for her piano students. From the 1920s to the mid-1930s, her compositions earned recognition and fame alongside other preeminent U.S. composers.

Many consider her to be the most significant American woman composer of the 20th century. After she married folklorist Charles Seeger, she often went by Ruth Crawford Seeger. Yet throughout her life, she published her compositions primarily using the name Ruth Crawford. Crawford found it challenging to balance her musical career with her dedication to her family, especially as she was raising five children (two of her own and three stepchildren) during the Great Depression in the 1930s. Still, she continued her robust musical activities as a folk music specialist. She also composed *Rissolty Rossolty* in 1940 and an award-winning wind quintet in 1952. Crawford died of cancer in 1953, while actively working to publish a picture book for children.

Fun Facts About Crawford (in Student Book)

- In 1930, Crawford became the first woman to receive a Guggenheim fellowship, one of the most prestigious honors for creative artists in the world.
- She dedicated much of her career to arranging and editing music for children, including songs such as "Skip-a to My Lou" and "Black Sheep, Black Sheep."
- She and her husband, Charles, wrote lots of letters to each other while they were traveling apart. One letter notes that she was going to show Charles the draft of her *Rissolty Rossolty* composition at their next meeting place…in Raleigh, NC!

Crawford's Life

- Crawford did not hear a symphony orchestra perform live until she moved to Chicago when she was 20 years old. When she first heard the Chicago Symphony Orchestra in concert, she asked a friend to point out the different instruments by name.
- Crawford is part of a famous and influential musical family. Her husband Charles Seeger was a composer, musicologist, and American folk music scholar. Her stepson Pete Seeger was a folk singer and activist well-known for his performances of "We Shall Overcome" during America's civil rights movement. Her children Mike and Peggy both became singer-songwriters specializing in folk music. Peggy is still an active musician and published a book in 2017.

Featured Work: *Rissolty Rossolty: An American Fantasy for Orchestra*

In 1936, Crawford and her family moved to Washington, D.C., where they became good friends with folklorist Alan Lomax. Lomax asked Crawford to compose a piece for his children's radio program, *Folk Music of America* on the CBS *American School of the Air*. (Figure 1). *The American School of the Air* broadcast radio programs to children in classrooms across the United States about a variety of subjects, including history, science, music, and geography. It was one of several U.S. radio programs in the 1930s specifically designed for use in schools. *Folk Music of America* highlighted folk songs and commissioned famous composers including William Grant Still and Aaron Copland to arrange the songs for orchestra. Crawford's *Rissolty Rossolty* premiered over the radio on January 23, 1940, as part of a program on love songs (Figure 2). The composition weaves three folk songs together—"Married Me a Wife," in which a husband teases his wife; "Phoebe," in which a wife teases her husband; and the fiddle tune "Callahan." While "Married Me a Wife" is the central song, why might Crawford have also incorporated "Phoebe" into her composition?

FIGURE 1. *Folk Music of America* series schedule. Published in Columbia's *American School of the Air Teacher's Manual and Classroom Guide, 1939-1940*, produced by Sterling Fisher and Leon Levine for the Columbia Broadcasting System Department of Education, title page. Accessed in the American Folklife Center of the Library of Congress.

FIGURE 2. *Folk Music of America* series schedule. Published in Columbia's *American School of the Air Teacher's Manual and Classroom Guide, 1939-1940*, produced by Sterling Fisher and Leon Levine for the Columbia Broadcasting System Department of Education, 14-15. The *Love Songs* program was originally scheduled for Jan. 30 but actually aired on Jan. 23. Accessed in the American Folklife Center of the Library of Congress.

Fundamental of Music: Texture

Texture is the aspect of music that involves tone color, or the way each instrument sounds. Composers choose and combine these individual sounds in music the way an artist chooses colors and combines them in a painting. There may be an instrument playing alone or many parts being played at the same time. These choices influence the mood or feeling of a piece of music. A "thin" texture may be one instrument playing a simple melody. A "thick" texture may be more than two instruments playing complex lines together. The texture usually becomes thicker or heavier when more instruments play together and when their parts are denser.

CLASSROOM ACTIVITY #1: "Married Me a Wife" Sing-along and Lyric Interpretation

NORTH CAROLINA ESSENTIAL STANDARDS IN MUSIC

4.ML.2.2 Interpret through voice and/or instruments simple pitch notation in the treble clef in major keys.

4.MR.1.1 Illustrate perceptual skills by moving to, answering questions about, and describing aural examples of music of various styles and cultures.

NORTH CAROLINA ESSENTIAL STANDARDS IN SOCIAL STUDIES

3.H.1.2 Analyze the impact of contributions made by diverse historical figures in local communities and regions over time.

OBJECTIVE: Students learn to sing the principal melody of Crawford's *Rissolty Rossolty*, a folk song titled "Married Me a Wife." They will discuss the lyrical meaning of "Married Me a Wife," which conveys gendered expectations of household duties between husbands and wives. This activity also sets up two following activities. Singing sets up Activity #2, in which students play the song on recorders. This lyric discussion sets up Activity #3, in which they examine how Crawford counters gender expectations through her use of another folk song, "Phoebe."

MATERIALS:

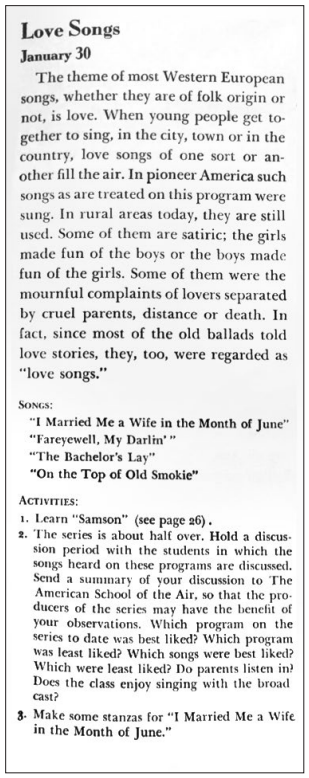
- *Folk Music of America: Love Songs* 1940 audio recording from 0:00–3:58 (NCS 2019/20 Education Concert CD, track 4)
- *Folk Music of America: Love Songs* instructions for teachers [Figure 3] and "Married Me a Wife" sheet music

PROCESS:

1. SING: Teach the melody of the "Married Me a Wife" chorus lines to students through call-and-response on a neutral syllable.
2. SING: Students use the sheet music of "Married Me a Wife" to transfer neutral syllable to lyrics for the chorus lines.
3. READ: Students read through the lyrics for the verses of the song.
4. DISCUSS: The narrator of this song is a husband singing about his wife. Based on the lyrics, what is the husband's objective in this song? What does the song convey about gender roles and household duties?
5. LISTEN AND SING: Lead a radio sing-along and discussion with the class. Refer to Figure 3 for the teacher instructions that CBS's *American School of the Air* created for the broadcast on love songs for which Crawford composed her piece back in 1940.
   - LISTEN from 0:00–1:58 of audio recording [CD track 4]
   - SING-ALONG from 1:58–3:58

     In this clip, folklorist Alan Lomax leads a radio sing-along for "Married Me a Wife."

     Be sure to sing with students! They may hesitate at first, but they will follow teacher's lead to join in.
6. DISCUSS: What does Aunt Molly Jackson mean when she mentions that the boys sang the song to rile up the girls?



Love Songs

January 30

The theme of most Western European songs, whether they are of folk origin or not, is love. When young people get together to sing, in the city, town or in the country, love songs of one sort or another fill the air. In pioneer America such songs as are treated on this program were sung. In rural areas today, they are still used. Some of them are satiric; the girls made fun of the boys or the boys made fun of the girls. Some of them were the mournful complaints of lovers separated by cruel parents, distance or death. In fact, since most of the old ballads told love stories, they, too, were regarded as "love songs."

SONGS:

"I Married Me a Wife in the Month of June"
"Fareyewell, My Darlin'"
"The Bachelor's Lay"
"On the Top of Old Smokie"

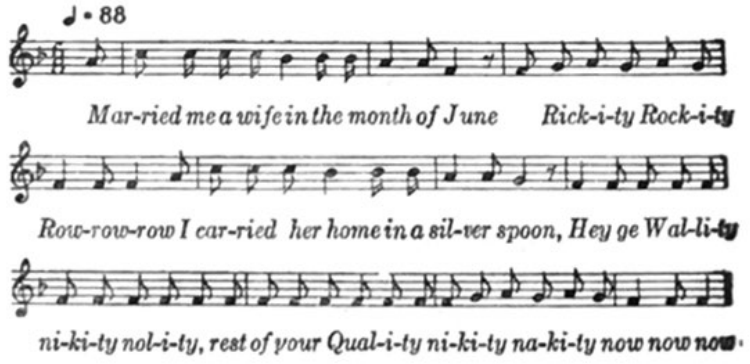
ACTIVITIES:

1. Learn "Samson" (see page 26).
2. The series is about half over. Hold a discussion period with the students in which the songs heard on these programs are discussed. Send a summary of your discussion to The American School of the Air, so that the producers of the series may have the benefit of your observations. Which program on the series to date was best liked? Which program was least liked? Which songs were best liked? Which were least liked? Do parents listen in? Does the class enjoy singing with the broadcast?
3. Make some stanzas for "I Married Me a Wife in the Month of June."

FIGURE 3. "Love Songs" program instructions for teachers. Published in Columbia's *American School of the Air: Teacher's Manual and Classroom Guide, 1939-1940*, produced by Sterling Fisher and Leon Levine for the Columbia Broadcasting System Department of Education, 25. Accessed in the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress.

Married Me a Wife*

(To be sung during the January 30 Program)



She combed her hair but once a week;
She says that combs are all too cheap.
She sweeps the floor but once a year;
She says that brooms are all too dear.
She churns her milk in the old man's boot;
For the sake of a dasher she uses her foot.
The butter is made of old grisly gray;
The milk takes legs and walks away.

CLASSROOM ACTIVITY #2: Create Contrasting Textures

NORTH CAROLINA ESSENTIAL STANDARDS IN MUSIC

4.ML.1.1 Apply expressive qualities when singing or playing a varied repertoire of music representing genres and styles from diverse cultures.

4.ML.3.2 Create compositions and arrangements using a variety of traditional and non-traditional sound sources

5.MR.1.2 Use music terminology in explaining music, including notation, instruments, voices, and performances.

OBJECTIVE: Students will understand the definition and meaning of texture. They will compare and contrast different textures that they create as a class. To do so, they will learn to play "Married Me a Wife" on recorder as well as sing the song, as they did in Activity #1. Many students may think instrumentation and texture are the same. They are similar, but this activity shows them how playing with several musical elements, such as instrumentation, dynamics, and melody, creates distinct textures.

MATERIALS:

Option 1:

- "Married Me a Wife" sheet music for recorders
- Recorders or another treble instrument

Option 2:

- "Married Me a Wife" sheet music from Activity #1
- Other classroom instruments. As an alternative to learning the song on recorders, try singing and adding in different classroom instruments such as egg shakers, hand drums, etc. With this option, teachers can have students try different accompanying rhythms to go with the song. Teachers can use a number of different instrument combinations in this activity to help students successfully understand texture.

PROCESS:

1. Divide students into four groups.
2. Review definition of texture.
3. Create contrasting textures for "Married Me a Wife." Use the ideas below as a starting point for creating different combinations of dynamics, instrumentation, and even rhythmic accompaniment.

   Singing

   - Texture 1: All students sing "Married Me a Wife" together.
   - Texture 2: Change number of students singing.
   - Texture 3: Whisper the song.
   - Texture 4: Have Groups 1 and 2 whisper the song while Groups 3 and 4 sing in full voice

   Playing Instruments

   - Texture 1: All students play instruments (e.g. recorders).
   - Texture 2: Groups 1 and 2 play *forte* while Groups 3 and 4 play *piano*.

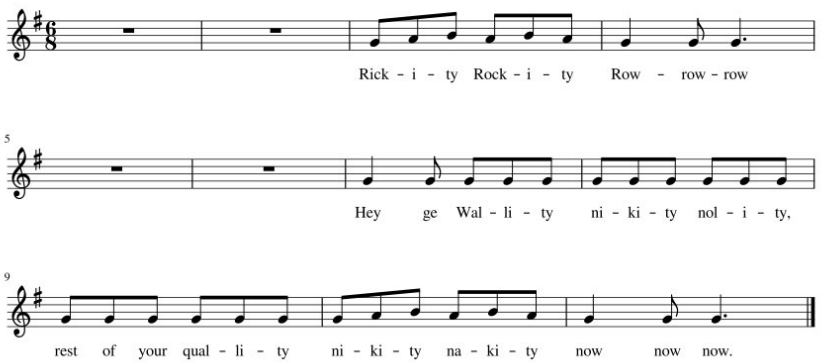
   Singing and Playing Instruments

   - Texture 1: Group 1 sings in full voice, Group 2 whispers, Group 3 plays *forte*, Group 4 plays *piano*.
   - Texture 2: Change number of students on instruments and those singing.
   - Texture 3: Teacher can add in a harmonic instrument by strumming on guitar or playing piano.
4. Discuss the following questions with students: What does texture mean? How did the class create different textures using the same melody? How did the class change the texture with and without changing dynamics? How did the class change the texture with and without changing instrumentation?

"Married Me a Wife" for recorder

Basis for Ruth Crawford Seeger's "Risselty Rosselty"

Folk song



"Married Me a Wife" recorder arrangement. Unpublished arrangement by Sarah Tomlinson, 2018.
For exclusive use in North Carolina Symphony Education Concert 2019/20 instructor and student materials.

CLASSROOM ACTIVITY #3: Listen to Music History

NORTH CAROLINA ESSENTIAL STANDARDS IN MUSIC

4.MR.1.1 Illustrate perceptual skills by moving to, answering questions about, and describing aural examples of music of various styles and cultures.

4.CR.1.2 Understand the relationships between music and concepts from other areas.

NORTH CAROLINA ESSENTIAL STANDARDS IN SOCIAL STUDIES

3.H.2.2 Explain how multiple perspectives are portrayed through historical narratives.

OBJECTIVE: Students will understand the original context for which Ruth Crawford Seeger composed *Rissolty Rossolty*. They will learn about the three different folk songs she incorporates into her composition. They will learn how music is composed for specific times and reasons. They will consider how understanding *Rissolty Rossolty* in a historical context affects understanding the piece in the present day.

MATERIALS:

- *Folk Music of America: Love Songs* 1940 audio recording from 3:58–7:39 (NCS 2019/20 Education Concert CD, track 4)
- Printed copies of Crawford Activity #3 student worksheets
- Pencils

PROCESS:

1. Hand out a worksheet and a pencil to each student.
2. Explain that they are about to listen to a radio broadcast from January 23, 1940. (It is a different section of the same radio broadcast they listened to for Activity #1.)
3. Call on different students to read the worksheet instructions and questions out loud.
4. Play the radio recording starting at 3:58. Students fill out questions while they listen.
   - Walk around and assess student's listening comprehension.
   - Replay recording to give students more time. It may help to pause recording between questions.
5. Review answers with students.
6. Discussion prompts:
   - Based on listening, could you tell that this radio broadcast was from the past? How so?
   - Compare the meaning of the song "Phoebe" with that of "Married Me a Wife."
   - Why did Crawford incorporate "Phoebe" into her composition? [gender commentary from wife back to husband, countering gender norms]
   - What were gender norms like in 1940? What about today?

Crawford Activity #3 Student Worksheet

Name:_____

INSTRUCTIONS: You will hear a radio broadcast from January 23, 1940 that aired on the Columbia Broadcasting System's (CBS) *American School of the Air* to schoolchildren in classrooms across the United States. The program is called *Love Songs* from the *Folk Music of America* series. As you listen, answer the following questions.

Hint: The number of lines below each question equals the number of words in the answer.

1. Who wrote the CBS-commissioned work?

   _____ _____

2. In a version of the song in the South, what words replace "rickety rockety"?

   _____ _____

3. What does Ms. Crawford call her piece?

   _____ _____ *(Clue! Same answer as question 2)*

4. What is the principal melody?

   _____ _____ _____ _____

5. What are the other two songs used in the piece?
   - A wife makes fun of her husband

     _____

   - A fiddle tune

     _____

Designed and written by Sarah Tomlinson, 2019.

Crawford Activity #3 Student Worksheet
ANSWER KEY

INSTRUCTIONS: You will hear a radio broadcast from January 23, 1940 that aired on the Columbia Broadcasting System's (CBS) *American School of the Air* to schoolchildren in classrooms across the United States. The program is called *Love Songs* from the *Folk Music of America* series. As you listen, answer the following questions.

Hint: The number of lines below each question equals the number of words in the answer.

1. Who wrote the CBS-commissioned work?

   Ruth _____ Crawford _____

2. In a version of the song in the South, what words replace "rickety rockety"?

   Rissolty _____ Rossolty _____

3. What does Ms. Crawford call her piece?

   Rissolty _____ Rossolty _____ *(Clue! Same answer as question 2)*

4. What is the principal melody?

   Married _____ Me _____ A _____ Wife _____

5. What are the other two songs used in the piece?
   - A wife makes fun of her husband

     Phoebe
     _____

   - A fiddle tune

     Callahan
     _____

Designed and written by Sarah Tomlinson, 2019.

CLASSROOM ACTIVITY #4: Tunes Creating Texture

NORTH CAROLINA ESSENTIAL STANDARDS IN MUSIC

4.MR.1.1 Illustrate perceptual skills by moving to, answering questions about, and describing aural examples of music of various styles and cultures.

4.MR.1.2 Explain personal preferences for specific musical works and styles, using appropriate music terminology.

4.CR.1.2 Understand the relationships between music and concepts from other areas.

OBJECTIVE: Student will recognize the use of different folk songs in the orchestral arrangement of *Rissolty Rossolty*. They will recognize that different combinations of folk song melodies create contrasting textures throughout the piece.

MATERIALS:

- Recording of *Rissolty Rossolty* (NCS 2019/20 Education Concert CD, track 5)
- *Rissolty Rossolty* Teacher's Listening Guide
- Scarves*
- Beanbags*
- Rhythm sticks (one per student)*

*Or other prop. It is important to have three distinct props for each student that do not make sound when held or moved.

PROCESS:

1. SING "Married Me a Wife" with students
2. SING "Phoebe" (can review from *Folk Music of America: Love Songs* radio recording at 5:36) to students. Call-and-response on a neutral syllable with students.
3. Hand out one scarf and one beanbag to each student.
   - Scarf: "Married Me a Wife"
   - Bean Bag: "Phoebe"
4. ASSESS: Alternate between singing fragments of each song. Students should hold up correct prop that corresponds with each song.
5. LISTEN:
   - Play *Rissolty Rossolty* recording from 0:00–1:00.

     While listening, students hold up the correct prop for each song. Use listening guide below to help [Figure 5].
   - Pause recording.

     Remind students of "Callahan" tune. Associate with rhythm stick or….

     OPTION: "Callahan" is a fiddle tune fit for dancing. As an alternative to a third prop, come up with a quick dance to associate with "Callahan" when listening.
   - Play entire *Rissolty Rossolty* recording.

     Students associate props and/or dance for each tune.
6. DISCUSS what different textures the students noticed in the orchestral piece.

CONCLUSION

There is significant distance between the common practice of how classical music is represented to children and young people and the knowledge held within academic institutions about the broader history and culture of classical music. Indeed, as this study demonstrates, much knowledge that is becoming well-established within musicological scholarship (through critical scholarship about composers-of-color and women composers, for example) has not largely impacted classical music introductions for children. As I have argued, this is a critical issue and one deserved of thorough scholarly attention.

The challenge is that, after four years of research, I have come to see this issue of representation as one small symptom of a much larger problem in the United States, namely how inequities in funding and resources impact education, particularly the arts. This dissertation cannot address, much less solve, the national education crisis. But it does aim to make an intervention. In addition to the specific case studies and resources contained in these chapters, it seeks to understand how the relationship between common practice and academic knowledge can become more fluid and reciprocal in the domain of music curricula and critical approaches to the canon. Through this project, I have come to see that this is not just an issue of materials or even accessibility, but also an issue of whose labor is valued and how.

Conducting fieldwork with music teachers and in elementary music classrooms brought the issue of labor and value to the fore. After she had taken her students to an NCS Education Concert, I interviewed an elementary music teacher, Rebecca. Rebecca sincerely enjoys taking her students on the NCS field trip and makes frequent use of the NCS workbooks and lesson

plans throughout the school year. When we discussed how the state of North Carolina funds NCS educational resources, however, she did not see that as a sign that the state supports education and the arts. We discussed the relatively low teacher salaries for public educators in North Carolina compared to other states, and she explained that the state has done away with salary increases for teachers with master's degrees.[491] She opined,

> the state of North Carolina doesn't value education, period. Especially arts . . . There's an extreme lack of respect for the profession of teaching in general and enhancements—music, P.E., art, all of us—we're just here to give [math, reading, and science] teachers a planning period. We're just babysitters.[492]

Rebecca's point here is that the rewards for teachers, and music teachers in particular, rarely manifest in fair pay. Throughout the time I was researching this dissertation, teachers, including Rebecca and those in school districts nation-wide, were protesting and striking to advocate for better conditions for their students and better pay for themselves and their colleagues.[493] Rebecca summarized that personal rewards for her career are "not at all" about pay, but rather center on her love for her students and her love for music. The fact that she has to make this choice is a symptom of an education system that undervalues teachers' labor and does not provide them with the resources necessary to serve their students equitably. This education system values curricular changes that increase math and reading test scores, but not ones that

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[491] "Rankings of the States 2018 and Estimates of School Statistics 2019," *National Education Association*, last accessed January 5, 2019, http://www.nea.org/assets/docs/2019%20Rankings%20and%20Estimates%20Report.pdf.

[492] Rebecca interview.

[493] T. Keung Hei, Greg Childress, and Jim Morrill, "Thousands of NC Teachers Rally in Raleigh for More Education Funding," *Raleigh News and Observer*, May 16, 2018, https://www.newsobserver.com/news/local/article211172024.html; Andrew Van Dam, "Teacher Strikes Made 2018 the Biggest Year for Worker Protest in a Generation," *Washington Post*, February 14, 2019, https://www.washingtonpost.com/us-policy/2019/02/14/with-teachers-lead-more-workers-went-strike-than-any-year-since/; Zachary B. Wolf, "Why Teacher Strikes are Touching Every Part of America," CNN, February 23, 2019, https://www.cnn.com/2019/02/23/politics/teacher-strikes-politics/index.html; Amanda Morris, "North Carolina Teachers to Protest for 2nd Year in Row," *Daily Herald*, May 1, 2019, https://www.dailyherald.com/article/20190501/news/305019918.

foster critical, creative, and inclusive knowledge-building. Under these circumstances it is clearly unreasonable to expect (or even imagine) teachers like Rebecca to implement critical changes to the ways they introduce classical music to their students. And yet, as I have documented throughout this dissertation, such changes are nonetheless important because of the continued tendency for children to learn about classical music through uncritical reverence for an exclusive canon of composers.

In advocating to change in the ways classical music is introduced to children in the United States, I do not propose that those in education and the arts work harder than they already are. Nor do I propose to saddle academics with additional burdens—I am keenly aware that academics often work in ways that are not fully recognized or rewarded.[494] Instead, I see much promise in two courses of action: 1) professionalizing avenues for doing engaged scholarship, such as participatory research; and 2) fostering interdisciplinary collaboration where there has historically been disciplinary division, such as between music education and musicology.

I propose these two courses of action based on my experiences as a researcher and practitioner. Situating my dissertation work as engaged scholarship allowed me to produce both an academic product (my dissertation) and community products (GSA curricula, NCS Education Concert lesson plans) that could address its concerns. That meant community-based impacts were part of the work, rather than side projects. However, one of the challenges to this work has been finding ways to articulate my engaged research within the discipline of musicology where

[494] Danielle Child, Helena Reckitt, and Jenny Richards, "Labours of Love: A Conversation on Art, Gender and Social Reproduction," *Third Text* 31, no. 1 (2017): 147-68.

community engagement is more often undertaken as "side" project, preventing it from entering fully into the "center" of the discipline.[495]

Participatory research was my answer to centering the labor of my community engagement work, to trying to use research—its funding, its validity, its resources—to generate solutions in common practice. Indeed, beyond the specific historic analyses and curricular units it offers, the larger point of this dissertation is to add to the growing momentum of critical approaches to classical music and to demonstrate, from within the field of musicology, an example of engaged research. In it, I have rejected the reliance on side projects and urges to "work harder" as methods for systemic change. Rather, I have embraced engaged research. Engaged research includes working *with* the communities a scholar seeks to impact. For musicologists who criticize the systemic inequities within university-level music curricula and education, my engaged research approach involved addressing the earlier points in the pipeline. In the context of introductions to music, engaged research is not just a matter of reflecting on one's own childhood, but also turning to children today as contributors to scholarly knowledge. Engaged research offers an avenue for US musicologists, historically a small and secluded community, to support music educators and music teachers in advocating for the value of education and the arts while also holding systems of education accountable to criticism.[496] For those who want to expand the impact of the discipline, musicologists must let others in *and* seek others out. This dissertation demonstrates how community-building—be it confusing, rewarding,

[495] Gordon discusses her involvement in an arts community engagement program at the University of Virigina, for example, in Bonnie Gordon, "Music Lessons," *Musicology Now*, September 28, 2013, http://www.musicologynow.org/2013/09/music-lessons.html.

[496] Levitz, "The Musicological Elite"; Gustafson, *Race and Curriculum*.

fruitful, critical, revelatory, or contradictory—is the research, is the contribution, and, in the case of engagement, is a very real measure of the value of scholarship.

Taking an engaged approach to musicological research goes hand-in-hand with bridging the historical divide between musicology and music education. After all, as scholars in a university-housed discipline, musicologists have much potential for recognizing how they connect to the broader system of US education. Interdisciplinary collaboration between musicology and music education can make this connection and can push academic work to have far-reaching impacts. Yet it is crucial to remember that education systems have as much potential to oppress their participants as they do to empower. Their participants include young people (as students) and adults (as teachers), all of whom can be exploited by systems that undermine their value. The discipline of musicology (let alone my dissertation) cannot overhaul a neoliberal education system that measures music teachers' value based on how they improve students' math and reading scores. But as scholars and educators, we can reassess what we value. Our values do have broader impacts, do make statements about who we believe should contribute to scholarship, about the culture of classical music, and about the histories of music writ large. Academics including musicologists have much opportunity to engage with music teachers, music educators, and children as we work to change the educational pipeline and the inequities embedded in music curricula.

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